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### HISTORY FOR A DEMOCRACY<sup>1</sup>

I shall open my remarks by paraphrasing a well-known saying: "I care not who makes the laws for a country if I can write its history." For history nourishes the spirit of any institution. Without a conception of relationship with its past, any group will lack a living sense of its unity and value. A feeling that our present activity has some meaning in the scheme of time gives a sense of continuity to our participation or membership in any society. To lead a people into the future, teach them about their past, and they will know—or think they know—whither you are leading them and whither they are going.

This can be illustrated in the life of Christendom during those ages in which its thought was dominated by the church. The Christian religion was emphatically a religion which placed man in a historic setting, a setting that reached back to Adam and forward to the millenium. It gave to every moment of the Christian life a meaning within the terms of this stupendous sequence. The history that the church taught was a history of mankind, and the future that it set before man was a future for the whole race.

The next great institution to be nourished by history was the nation. Every nationality in Europe was brought to a consciousness of its own inner unity by learning of its past. When Palacky undertook to revive the national spirit of the Bohemians, he began by writing the history of Bohemia. The national histories differed from that which the church

<sup>1</sup> Presented on January 18, 1937, as the annual address of the eighty-eighth annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society. *Ed.*

had taught in that each of them applied to a particular people and gave to that people a sense of its own separateness from all other peoples. The history that accompanied the culture of Christendom was a history of mankind; the history that accompanied the rise of nations was, in fact, a number of separate histories, one for each nation.

More recently there has arisen another international history to nourish the spirit of another culture. This is Communist history, which recasts the story of mankind in terms of the conflict of classes. A friend of mine in Russia heard this anecdote of a university entrance examination. A girl taking the examination was asked in what respect the reign of terror in the French Revolution differed from the reign of terror in the Russian Revolution. She replied that she could see no difference. She was then told she could not enter the university. She managed to get another chance at the examination, and again she was asked what the difference was between the French and Russian reigns of terror. This time she replied that the French reign of terror was enacted on behalf of the bourgeoisie; the Russian, on behalf of the proletariat. She passed the examination. The Communist political system includes as an essential part an orthodox interpretation of history.

Now the world is confronted with a further development of the national type of history in the form of the new Fascist and Nazi mythologies. The officially approved versions of history within these national cults reach back to the most remote periods of time and down to the most recent past with a rigidly orthodox interpretation of every part of the sequence. In the Fascist conception of history there is complete continuity between the Roman Empire and modern Italy; the Mediterranean is still *mare nostrum*. There is a special Fascist interpretation of the World War—it was won for all the Allies by Italy in Venetia. So also the authentic Nazi history includes an interpretation of the role of the Germanic element in European culture, of the causes

of the World War and of Germany's defeat, and of the burning of the Reichstag building. The historian is not permitted to doubt, to question, or to criticize any of these official interpretations. The Fascist cultures, however rugged they may be in some aspects, are delicate in respect to their historical digestions. Only the most carefully prepared history, put together according to prescription, will nourish them.

Having noted that there are different histories for different political and social situations, we may now ask, "What is the history for us?" What should be the history for a federal democracy such as ours; what is the history that nourishes the spirit of our own institutions? Can we also set up our history on the basis of myths appropriate to ourselves? I think there has been a tendency to make heroes out of democrats and democrats out of heroes, and to select for special emphasis and praise in history those states that were democracies—to seek to find in history democracy as a common denominator of value.

More specifically, it was Plutarch with his stories of Greek democracies who furnished historical material for the great democrats of the French Revolution. Throughout the nineteenth century a Whig interpretation of English history inspired the popular movement in Europe, and such historians as Freeman and Stubbs tried to carry the conception of freedom, equality, and popular rule into the remote background of early German tribal life.

Now it is the weakness of this kind of history—whether it be written for the church, the nation, the Communist society, the Fascist state, or even the federal democracy itself—that it stands at the mercy of objective criticism. The faithful following of the technique of historical investigation may at any time overturn elements of the story that stand as essentials in the use that is being made of it. Objective investigation may prove that the world was not created in 4004 B.C.; that the most important develop-

ments on the European scene were not the special experience of any one nation, but were shared in common by many peoples; and that the continuity alleged to be found in the life of a nation from the remote past to the present day is illusory or incidental. The Communist interpretation of social evolution and political events may not be sustainable in the light of an objective criticism of the evidence, and the Fascist or Nazi interpretations may also go to pieces under criticism. Nor is the historical interpretation which has nourished the spirit of democracy immune. The bold conceptions of Freeman and Stubbs on early German democracy have already been relegated to the junk heap of discarded historical syntheses.

If we undertake deliberately to nourish our own institutions on a history of this kind, made to order for this purpose, we may find ourselves confronted with the tragic dilemma that the mission of our history cannot be served without abandoning the scientific historical method itself. And this would be particularly fatal to democracy, because democracy more than any other kind of government needs to sustain free investigation and criticism of everything. A myth that will not stand criticism must ultimately be protected by force. And an interpretation of history that one is not permitted to doubt and criticize becomes *ipso facto* an interpretation that one cannot sustain and prove. A history that will nourish the spirit of democracy must be one that leaves its investigators free to follow wherever the evidence leads them, whatever may be their conclusions regarding men, events, and institutions. Even if it should be discovered that the heroes of democracy were villains, and that the institutions of democracy did not function as the well-wishers of democracy would have preferred—even then, the historian must be free to reach and publish his conclusions. I think that if we are willing to analyze somewhat comprehensively the essential values of our democracy, we can mark out a field of history that will sustain



those values, even while it conserves the essentials of historical method.

I shall take three elements of our own national culture and treat them as essentials which it should be the purpose of history to nourish and sustain. First, I shall place the element of respect for the value of the individual personality and the protection for him of a maximum zone of freedom. This conception is opposed to dictatorships of all kinds. Carried to an extreme this may become a kind of anarchy; kept within limits, it preserves in a society a richness and a variety that no other system can develop. This valuing of individual freedom must be tempered and balanced by recognition of social needs.

The second element of our system is its federative structure. Not the individual person alone but groups of all kinds, organized in all ways, are recognized by our society and given their zone of creative activity. This conception is directly opposed to the ideal of the totalitarian state. Here also it is necessary to think in terms of a balance to be maintained between the larger societies and the smaller; between the nation, the state, and the locality. But I think it is inevitable that the protection of the individual in his own freedom is inseparable from this federative organization of society, for in a great centralized state, democracy may become indistinguishable from dictatorship.

This brings me to the third of our fundamental conceptions—the ideal of government by the people. I think that this implies not only a federative organization which leaves local affairs to localities, even as it places national affairs in the hands of the whole nation; it means also that the people in ruling themselves must act with a keen respect for facts, for knowledge, for enlightenment. They must be willing to get together on the common platform of discovered truth, wherever that platform may be.

Let us then raise the question of what kind of history will preserve these three values of democracy as I have defined

them, and my answer falls into three parts. The kind of history that will preserve our respect for individual freedom is a history of ourselves, a history of individuals—it is family history. The kind of history that will preserve the federative structure of our society is the history of our homes, of our communities—it is local history. The kind of history that will preserve the basis of government by ourselves is history written by ourselves. It is history in the study and writing of which we all participate. Those who write the laws should also write the history. Participation in government on the basis of respect for truth and understanding of the methods by which it is investigated implies participation in scholarship. Family history to nourish individualism; local history to nourish federalism; and participation of all the people in the investigation of their past to nourish the sense of their participation in determining their future—this is the triple program I wish to present.

First let me speak of the history of the self. Each of us comes into existence as a unique organism; none of us is exactly like any other. And unless we appreciate the value of that uniqueness which is in each of us, we have not caught the meaning of individual freedom. It is precisely because none of us are exactly alike that each of us must be permitted to develop himself in his own way. Just as the history of a nation stimulates the sense of nationality, so the history of a person should stimulate the sense of personality.

At the most specific level this kind of history is the diary. With what pleasure and profit any of us will read a diary of one of our grandparents! Are we leaving similar documents for our grandchildren? It is an interesting fact that the Puritans, with their keen sense of personal responsibility toward God, were great keepers of diaries.

As a projection or expansion of this history of the self,

the next step is the history of the family. A program of history writing which would fulfill completely the task that is here implied is something that staggers the imagination. It is no less than the demand that every family in the country possess its own history. This kind of history is not to be conceived as mere genealogy. We have seen much of that kind of research which labors only to discover among our ancestors persons of distinction, or which tries only to trace back lists of names. I am not thinking of mere lists of names and dates, but of a history that will give each individual a knowledge of the whole complex of biological, cultural, and economic events that have made him what he is, and set him in his relation to the universe. For there is, in truth, a history of the world that stems out from each of us, and for no two of us is this history of the world precisely the same.

Through what family ties is each of us brought into relation with the great past of our whole race? In the family history of my seven-year-old son there is, to begin with, the last phase of the westward movement: pioneering in Idaho, Washington, and Oregon; migration into California. Back of that is a Pennsylvania ironmaster of the pre-Carnegie days; slaveowners in Virginia and Georgia; and a Pennsylvania Dutch peasantry with its hard religion and tight-fisted prosperity. The Civil War, in my son's family history, stands as a family affair in that a southern girl had married a Yankee. The world of European imperialism enters his picture through relatives who were missionaries. Religious conflict in the Rhineland and in Ulster is a part of the more remote background. My son has practically no distinguished ancestors, so far as I know, but his family in the last two centuries has touched scores of major moving forces in the modern world, and they have in a sense become a part of him. This is true of everyone living today.

If nations can build up a national consciousness by selecting from the stream of history those events in which the

continuity of a national life is manifested and the place of a nation in its relation to the world is illustrated, does not the same rule apply to the individual?

It may be objected that such personal and family histories, making of each of us a separate focal point of world history, would constitute in each case an arbitrary *mélange*. But this is no more true of individual than of national histories. They too are highly arbitrary. In times past, histories of nations were written as the histories of wars and kings; the histories of kings were indeed family histories, and wars were state enterprises, easily identified with the states that made them. But social, economic, and intellectual histories must be forced and mangled in order to compress them into national compartments. Paris has more in common with Berlin than with any village in Provence or Normandy. Technology, transportation, and science, and even the major movements of social policy, develop in areas that overlap frontiers of national states. National history as it is written today is just as arbitrary in its selection of facts as the personal and family history I have outlined. Moreover, a family history possesses a continuity so basic, so biological, that it might properly be taken for granted as the surest and most secure pattern in which to state the relations of the past to the present. Historians may dispute endlessly about the periodization of history; they may ask, "When did the Middle Ages end?" "When did the nineteenth century begin?" But the units of family history present no such difficulty. They begin each with a birth and end with a death, and taken together they strike a rhythm of periodization that is the same throughout history—the rhythm of the generations of man.

I believe, moreover, that the development of family history has certain practical aspects which cannot be ignored. It is in a sense the spiritual correlate of the institute of the family and the material system of private property. Private property at the material level gives to the individual

a sense of significance and a range of action; and, through the institution of inheritance within a family, a contact with the past and with the future. In our day this material institution has perhaps lacked in spiritual nourishment. In an age of science we have no household gods, and a Christian culture cannot sustain an ancestral cult. Perhaps family history will nourish for us the values and the traditions that the household gods or the ancestral cult nourished in other cultures.

Now I come to the second branch of history which I conceive to be a cultural necessity in a federal democracy, and this is the history of the community. Just as the history of the self has as its primitive document the diary, so the history of the home has as its principal document the abstract of title of the house we happen to live in. And just as the history of the self expands to become the history of the family, so the history of the home expands to become the history of the locality.

What is the locality? It can mean various areas enclosed within widening circles outward from our homes. Perhaps it is the area within the normal range of the family car; perhaps it is the area from which children go to the same schools, or from which housewives trade at the same stores; perhaps it is the area in which people read the same newspapers, or the area affected by the opening and closing of the same industrial plants; perhaps it is the area governed by the same local government. A locality is in fact each or any one of these areas, each in its relation to the others and to areas yet more extensive.

Each of these areas has qualities of individuality. Like a person, it is in some respects unique. And yet it also resembles other localities and is in some respects typical. The city of St. Paul is the elder sister of Vladivostok and the younger sister of Melbourne, Australia. Like its sister cities throughout the world, it has felt the impact of the

great social and economic forces of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. But it has felt them also in a way peculiar to itself. A fifth of the people who make up the population of St. Paul have come from abroad. From the same villages out of which they migrated, other individuals migrated to Stockholm, to Oslo, and to Salt Lake City. If you would know the life of this community in its relation to the widening circle with which it is in contact, you would find that it touches ultimately the most remote margins of the world. But from no other point will the world have exactly the same aspect as it has from the city of St. Paul. Just as there is a world history that stems out from the family background of every individual, so there is a world history that stems out from the special situation of every community.

We are well aware that just as genealogy has in some cases offered a superficial travesty of family history, so a type of promotional literature in our communities has in a superficial way called attention to the special excellencies and peculiarities of our various localities, and an antiquarian interest has resulted in the accumulation of diverse and unrelated items of information. This is not the kind of local history of which I speak.

Before our task as historians in a democracy is completed, we should have not only histories of every community, but histories of everything from the standpoint of every community. I think it would almost be safe to say that in no two schools, were they only one mile apart, should the social studies be taught from the same book. This, of course, is a counsel of perfection, but it serves to emphasize an unquestionable fact which should enter into our thinking constantly, and that is that the important things that the study of history should present to the mind can in a great number of cases be illustrated either directly or by contrast from material close at hand. I doubt whether anyone is fully competent to teach social studies even in an elementary

school until he has learned the possibilities of finding illustrative material within the area known to the students that he teaches. In the century of the life of this community is there any significant world movement that does not in some way find illustration? Here was a point on the great frontier of European culture that extended in an enormous sweep from the Ural Mountains and the Caucasus, along the South African rivers, along the coasts of Australia, and into the inland areas of Latin America. Here, as on the plains of Central Asia, plowmen fought with nomads for the plains. Here was felt the change from fur trading to grain farming, the coming of the factory age. Here came the shift from river to railroad transportation, and thence to automobiles and trucks. Here came the cultural development of popular education, the contact of religion and science. Go down the table of contents of any good book on western civilization and, item by item, it will be discovered that if the thing was important in one way or another, it happened in St. Paul.

Now it is not easy to discover exactly how it happened in St. Paul. If I were asked, for instance, to make a study of the influence of French culture, or Chinese art, or Darwinism upon the world generally, I would find the task very much simpler than if I were asked to identify these influences in this city. And the history I would write would be easier to write precisely because it would be farther from the ground and more remote from reality.

Consider for a moment some of the great synthetic conceptions with which historians have sought to unify their vision of many events over a long period of time. Consider such an idea as economic determinism, or the frontier thesis in American history, or even the elaborate creations of Oswald Spengler in his interpretation of western civilization. These things also, to the extent that they are true, should be capable of demonstration from materials in this

historical society about events that have taken place within one mile of this platform.

I have suggested that family history is related as a spiritual adjunct to a material aspect of our culture. Let me say the same thing of local history. In everything that relates to the planning of a community and to regional development, to the work of such bodies as state planning commissions, this localized information is of the highest practical importance. And a true conception not only of the character of a locality, but also of its relation to the state and the nation, is the essential spiritual food of an enlightened federalism. It is only in the presence of a historical vision in which the local community and all the more comprehensive communities are seen, each with its appropriate values, that we can order the relations of these bodies to each other in a stable and wholesome way.

Let me go beyond this: from the problem of federalism in America to the problem of world relations and world peace. For twenty years there have been ringing in the ears of historians the words of that great president of the American Historical Association, Henry Morse Stephens, uttered during the World War: "Woe unto you teachers of history and writers of history if you cannot see written in blood the result of your writing and teaching." The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has studied and compared the school books in which the children of the various nations of the world are respectively introduced to the history of the great world society in which we live. They have found, as Stephens found, that these histories as they are taught build a wall stronger than steel at the national frontier. The development of the nation state in modern times and the destruction of the international community were accompanied by a concentration of all the attention of each people upon the unity and distinctness of their own state to the exclusion of any other.

The kind of history of which I speak does not concen-



trate all attention on the national border. Rather it exhibits to the mind of a student a series of borders with the lines drawn within the national frontier as well as beyond it. If I am able to see that my own community can have its own values, its own traditions, preserved intact from the past and projected into the future, and at the same time participate securely in the life of a larger community, such as the state or nation, then I shall also be able to envisage the life of my nation as a thing having secure values, both past and future, but yet cradled within the larger compass of the world. World history alone will not make of us world citizens. We must see the whole relationship—local, state, regional, national, and international—all the way from the top to the bottom. Each community has its own membership certificate in the Great Society. And until history can teach us this, the symbols of world peace will be empty symbols.

Let me call attention to the special quality of the argument I am advancing for family and local history. It has long been recognized that a better national history can be written when biography and local history have been more fully explored. That is important, but I would hold that even if a chapter of local history should prove to be a stone unused by the builder of national history, it is worth the effort for the sake of its intrinsic value in the community to which it relates. Family and local history need not sustain any particular family or local myth. They can be investigated ruthlessly and relentlessly without any effort to reach a preconceived conclusion. And still, by their very nature, they will enrich and nourish a democratic culture. Their values are primary values. They can stand on their own feet.

I hope that I have established the importance both spiritual and material of the development of family and local history as essential historical contributions to a federative

democracy. Now I turn to the third item of the program—to the participation of people generally in the labor of conducting historical investigation and writing history. This participation is indeed an essential element of the program I have just outlined. For clearly there are not enough professional historical scholars in the country to begin to touch the immeasurable task of putting together the histories that lie back of each of us and of every locality, to write histories of millions of families, and thousands of communities. We do not have at the moment the personnel; we do not have the apparatus. But I think we can see whence both the personnel and the apparatus will come. It took us several generations to build up the corpus of published material, to make the critical studies, to collect the bibliographies, to organize the knowledge from which our present historical writing is documented. Our Ph.D.'s move sure-footed through this material. If I want to work on the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, I know where to look for the material, and I can begin where the last scholar left off. But if I want to write the history of my family, or of the school district in which my son is going to school, I find nothing prepared for me. It will take us several generations to adapt and complete the documentary equipment for the writing of family and local history. It took us several generations also to train the army of scholars in the tradition of the craft. It may well take us several generations to train every man to be his own historian.

Our library shelves are already loaded with the printed product of historical research according to existing standards. The new history may perhaps develop an entirely new library technique. We have crowded the publishing industry to the limit of its financial endurance in multiplying and distributing works of historical scholars in their present vein. We may have to depart entirely from the printing technique in reproducing the written word and distributing it to readers. Profound educational and techno-

logical changes lie ahead of us in the development of this program. Let me describe these prospects.

Let me speak first of the body of research material and then of the research personnel. What is the documentation that must be accumulated and rendered accessible if the kind of history I have been discussing is to be written? There are three classes of documents in which the bulk of the record is to be found. These are the public archives, the newspapers, and the manuscript materials, such as family papers and business records that survive. Yet it is in them that all of us and all our ancestors have left the legible traces of our lives. A person who would undertake to utilize these materials under present conditions would be in the position of someone undertaking to write national history in the absence of bibliographies, guides, learned journals, and sets of published documents. The historical records survey, organized as a unit of the WPA, has been working for a year, with workers in every state in the Union, to make an inventory of this material.

To put this material in order is a task so vast that it staggers the imagination. The inventory of county archives alone will be a monster set of volumes of three hundred thousand pages. The inventory of town, city, and village records will be equally extensive. The inventory of church records may be even larger. The workers who are making this inventory are giving us for the first time an accurate statement of what records are available throughout the country, where they are to be found, and what general type of information is contained within each of them. It is in these records—the records of wills probated, of court proceedings, of land transactions, of business licenses—that the common man leaves his traces. In such noble volumes as the *Documentary History of the Constitution*, only the few and the great have left mementoes of their lives; but in these millions and millions of obscure documents, standing on the shelves of thousands of public buildings through-

out the country, all our names are written down. The inventory is only the beginning. When the inventory is completed, there must follow progressive analyses of these records, so that it will become progressively a more simple task to glean from them the specific information that may be desired.

For the last few years the American Library Association has undertaken for the first time to bring together a list of the newspaper files that are accessible in public libraries and university libraries throughout the country. Its work is now being supplemented by that of the historical records survey, which is uncovering additional files in more obscure depositories. Relief workers in a number of cities are compiling lists of available newspaper files. Chicago's is completed. Within a short time we shall be able to know what newspaper files have been preserved, where they are to be found, what areas and what periods they cover. And again that is only a beginning, for a human life is not long enough to plow through newspaper files to glean information on topics so specific as those involved in the writing of all family history and much local history. When we know where the newspaper files are, we will require indexes, calendars, and digests to make reference to them, or to the information contained in them, as simple and convenient as reference to a topic in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. In dozens of centers throughout the country, in half a dozen in Minnesota alone, and again in connection with the work relief program, different kinds of controls to this newspaper information are being elaborated. Here it is an index to proper names, there it is a subject index, or again it is a digest of local news. When we have found the right ways of preparing subject guides to newspaper information and to the information contained in local archives, there will be laid out for us a task that will require an army of workers over a generation of time before it is completed. But when it is completed we will have at our finger tips access to the

documentation upon which an infinite number of local and family histories may be written.

As this material comes under control, we shall also look forward to increasing the control we shall have over manuscript records of various kinds—family papers and business records. The technique of rendering such material easily accessible and easily used is intricate. The Minnesota Historical Society is a leading pioneer in standardizing and developing this technique. We should not rest until we have contrived so adequate a means of making inventories, calendars, indexes, and lists of manuscript holdings that we can expect the possessors of manuscripts to render their own reports upon their own holdings in such a way as to make them the common property of the world of scholarship. When these things are accomplished—and it will take a generation to do them—then we shall have in hand for the writing of family and local history equipment comparable to that which scholars possess today for the writing of national history.

The task seems vast—but this is a vast country. And the accident of the WPA white-collar relief program has already gone far enough to show that it can be done. The material foundations for a historical renaissance are being laid.

When the materials of our vast historical workshop are assembled in the way I have outlined—archives, newspapers, and manuscripts—we must take thought of the installation of the working equipment, the conveyor belt, that will carry the product while it is being worked upon. The system that has been operated hitherto in scholarship for this purpose has been the system of publication.

In the writing of history from the sixteenth century to the present, as in all scholarly activity, scholars have keyed their activity, to a degree that they hardly realize, to the rhythm and technique of the printing press. Printing and

publication stand in our culture as the means by which hitherto scholars communicated their findings to one another and to the public. These are the devices by which scholars have supplied themselves in great measure with the documentary material from which they have drawn their conclusions. So deeply has this technique worked its way into our intellectual life that we hardly think of scholarship apart from publication. It often has seemed to us that the product of the creative mind, whatever its pure intellectual value may be, must remain socially valueless and ineffective until it is published, either as a book or as an article in a journal.

This system has had great efficiency in permitting scholars to distribute the labor of scholarship, so that a task, when once well done, need not be done over again. It has been indispensable in so far as scholars have had thoughts which it was appropriate they should communicate to a wide public. But there are some situations to which it is not adapted, and those are especially the situations in which it is desirable to distribute the product of intellectual labor to a few people only, rather than to a great number. For the printing press loses its economies and ceases to be an appropriate technique for the multiplying and distributing of writings unless one or two thousand copies at the least are to be manufactured and distributed.

In a program in which we would look forward to the compiling and writing of a history of every family and of every locality with an interpretation in each case that is special for the particular family or locality treated, we cannot envisage a large-scale multiplying of any of these works in the way in which we have been accustomed to envisage the publication of historical writings. A few copies only of a family history, perhaps one copy for each near relative and a few left over to be preserved in certain depositories, are all that would be required. The smaller the locality to be favored with a special historical interpretation of its own

life, the smaller the number of copies that ought to be produced.

Technology now offers the prospect that substitutes for printing may be at hand which will permit the production of books in editions small enough for the very specialized demand with which we are here concerned. There are many of these new techniques—mimeograph, hectograph, photo-offset, processes known by a number of trade names such as multilith—which are appropriate to the production of books in editions very much smaller than can be economically manufactured by the printing process. But I shall speak of one of these techniques only, and that is one that has long been familiar to us in another setting—the simple technique of blueprinting, which is used in reproducing the working drawings of architects and mechanical engineers.

Ordinarily if you go into the market to purchase a scholarly book, you will pay for it at the rate of one and two-tenths cents a page, or three dollars for a hundred thousand words. Ordinarily this hundred thousand words will be spread on two hundred and fifty or more pages, six by nine inches in dimension, each of which therefore covers a surface of fifty-four square inches. The entire book is laid out on approximately a hundred square feet of paper surface. Now you can go into any blueprinting office with a hundred square feet of the right kind of typescript, properly mounted in large sheets, and have a blueprint copy made for three dollars. More than this, by using the right kind of typewriter in the right way, you can put a typescript text on paper with such economy of paper surface that it will not take any more than a hundred square feet for a hundred thousand words. This means that a blueprint reproduction of a typescript text could actually be made to order for anyone who wanted it, and distributed to him at approximately the cost that he is accustomed to paying for a book. It might be that this text would come to him in a sheet like a newspaper page, but it would be legible and it would intro-

duce an entirely new situation into our system of distributing the product of intellectual work.

Let us suppose that each of you is an author and that each of you, using your leisure time over a period of years, has compiled the history of your own family. You might then wish to consider whether your work should be published. If you took it to Macmillan, that publisher would tell you, quite properly, that there was no prospect that a large enough number of people would wish to buy it to make it commercially feasible to set up your manuscript on the linotype machines and print off the normal publishing edition of two thousand copies. The same might very well be true if you should write the history of your street or of your town, and then you would be in possession of your manuscript and you would realize that just because there was no prospect of two thousand potential purchasers, there was no way of laying it before the more limited number of people who would really be interested in having it. Some people, under these conditions, have been able to finance private printing, but that cannot be a general solution. The blueprint method of reproduction would make it possible for you to prepare in the ordinary way, but with certain precautions as to format, a typescript copy; and then, whether the number of persons who wanted copies should prove to be great or small, the copies could be made to order for them at a cost per thousand words no greater than they are accustomed to paying.

This blueprint method of distributing writing would resemble, from the standpoint of financing, the old manuscript method. The medieval monasteries copied books for themselves and for one another. If someone wanted a copy of a particular volume, he arranged to have it made. There was no real difference between published and unpublished material, between books in print and books out of print. If Macmillan were able to offer the same kind of service that the medieval monasteries offered, the editors



would never question whether there was a probable demand for ten or a hundred or two thousands copies of the manuscript the author carried to the editorial office. It is only because the printing technique demands a very expensive first cost which must be absorbed by running a large number of copies that our publishers are unable to handle works of small probable circulation. Techniques that will permit us to manufacture a book to order, as was done in the old manuscript days, at a cost to the purchaser no greater than that which he is accustomed to paying for printed books, will completely change the whole situation in regard to the distribution of writings of all kinds, and particularly writings in the field of family and local history. Again it would be possible to say, as it was in the Middle Ages, that a book once written and deposited in the right place is in effect published, in that anybody who wants a copy of it can get it.

Now there are other new techniques which introduce other elements into the picture. There is, for example, micro-copying, a process by which documents are photographed in miniature on tiny strips of film, and then read by projecting them somewhat as one projects a lantern slide, except that the image is made to fall before the reader as if it were the page of a book. The special quality of this technique is that it permits large bodies of material to be copied very cheaply, and mailed at low transportation costs. For example, if a worker in St. Paul should discover by consulting the inventory of public archives that there are several thousand pages in Washington or in Boston of archival material that he needed to study, this technique would permit him to procure micro-copies of these pages for his own use for a few dollars. The apparatus that makes these results possible is only now being perfected; its utilization is only beginning; but the potential effect of it can clearly be foreseen. For it makes the entire documentary resources of the country available in a way that would not otherwise be possible, without travel and without

great expense, to workers anywhere in the country who may wish to use any part of them.

Aside from these uses of the blueprinting and photography methods, there are many processes, intermediate between these and publication by printing, adaptable to any situation that may arise in the gathering of material for research or in the distribution of its product.<sup>2</sup> Just as the complete control of our archives,—local and national,—our newspapers, and our manuscripts promises to supply us with the materials for the new history writing, so these technical processes promise to make these materials accessible to us and to enable us to distribute the results of our work as widely as their character makes necessary.

We have set up the high objective of historical enterprise in a democracy, outlined the labor that is necessary in preparing the raw materials, and sketched the description of the technical equipment that will be the substitute for publication as we have hitherto known it. Now what of the workers who are to delve into this material? When we have produced the material conditions which will make it possible for every man to be his own historian, how are we to create the intellectual conditions? This problem carries us into a review of certain of the objectives of our educational system and of certain potential lines for its development.

Our people are justly proud of the tremendous investment that they have made and are making in education. The investment is not alone in our vast plant, in the great staff of teachers and administrators, but also in the years of time which our youth spends in going to school—years which the youth in other countries may be spending on the

<sup>2</sup> See Robert C. Binkley, *Manual on Methods of Reproducing Research Materials* (Ann Arbor, Edwards Brothers, 1936). Herein are published the results of a survey conducted by the joint committee on materials for research of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council.

farm, in the workshop, in the army, or in the bread line. Somewhere in that great system there are to be found the human resources, the personnel, that could carry out a program of the democratization of historical scholarship, and indeed of all scholarship.

In dealing with the personnel problem in scholarship, our learned world has looked for its recruits to the graduate schools. We have felt the need of more and better Ph.D.'s, who will find their careers in our universities or in research institutions. Our personnel program has been one of giving supertraining to potential superscholars. This personnel is only a fraction of what is potentially available to do work of scholarship. The potential resources which we have hitherto neglected, but which we might just as well develop, will be found in two large groups, which I shall define as professional and amateur.

This distinction between professional and amateur has only a financial significance. By a professional scholar I mean someone who is paid for doing a job that includes some scholarly activity; by amateur, I mean someone who engages in scholarly activity for the fun of it or for the glory of it. I do not mean to imply that there is necessarily any higher quality in the one than in the other, nor that the best minds of the country are necessarily those which inevitably will be drawn to the professional rather than to the amateur interest.

It seems evident that there are two great bases upon which research scholarship can be extended. If the teaching staff of the high schools could become in the next generation, as the teaching staff of the colleges has become in our own time, a group that would regard productive scholarship as a part of its profession, the ranks of professional scholarship would be opened and the number of professional scholars multiplied many fold. If enough of the technique of productive scholarly research could be taught as a part of the ordinary liberal arts curriculum leading to

the B. A. degree, the time would come when the upper group of our college graduates would have among it great numbers of individuals who, in their leisure time, would proceed with competence and enthusiasm in the hobby of research. This would enlarge the army of amateurs.

Certainly we cannot make great and distinguished contributors to science out of everyone. We must perhaps consider some new subdivision of the labor of scholarship, devise some simplified research techniques, and lay out the fields along the frontier of knowledge in a new way, before we can utilize fully the labors of such an army of investigators as that which I foresee. But the frontier is unlimited; there is room for everyone to stake his claim, and time for him to cultivate his garden. I believe this program would fit naturally as the next step in the development of teacher training, and in the development of the liberal arts curriculum of the ordinary American college, and even in the advancing program of our graduate schools.

In the training of high-school teachers, our educators have been aware of a growing tension in the last decades between emphasis on methods of teaching on the one hand and on content of subject matter on the other. This tension has in some cases reached almost the dimensions of a schism in our culture. The leaders who have emphasized method in the past generation had a great task to accomplish and in the main they have accomplished it. They led the country from the setting of the little red schoolhouse and the teaching technique of the birch rod to the setting of the union high school and the teaching technique of the project method and the Binet-Simon test.

But that job is done, and leaders in the field have come to realize that the next step will involve increasing in some way the teacher's knowledge of the full significance of what she is teaching along with her knowledge of how to teach it. This should draw the teachers' colleges nearer to the liberal arts colleges.

The synthesis of liberal arts training with teacher training, in a combination that will deepen the values of both, stands today as a major unsolved educational program. One way of solving it would be to develop the ability of high-school teachers to make scholarly investigations of their own localities from the historical, economic, social, or cultural standpoints. Such studies would at once provide them with significant teaching materials and yield their data as new findings in the inductive structure of the social sciences and history. The very same development that would enrich and dignify the intellectual standing of the high-school teaching profession would at the same time serve the bachelor of arts by offering him a creative channel into which to direct his intellectual enthusiasm. The beginnings of this are already at hand, and not in the field of history alone. In my own university, for instance, the department of political science has consistently stood for the training of its undergraduate students in the understanding of politics by beginning with the city of Cleveland and ending with Plato and Aristotle. Bachelors of arts with that training can become contributors to scholarship in local government; they need not aspire to be commentators on the Greek classics. Yet I have the feeling that the students who have received that training come to realize that Aristotle knew a great deal about Cleveland, Ohio. We do not narrow our intellectual program when we keep one end of it rooted in the ground at home.

I do not underestimate the difficulty of the task of intellectual engineering that lies before us; but neither, I believe, do I underestimate the magnitude of possible results. By some critics it has been regarded as a tragedy that the mass development of higher education, while making us a nation of college graduates, did not succeed in making us a nation of scholars. We can go very much farther toward becoming a nation of scholars if we will mark out for ourselves this whole array of new and interesting research problems

in family and local history; define the technique by which the work can be done with the new material that is being made available; organize the system by which the results may be distributed by means of these substitutes for printing; and train for the future a generation of professional and amateur scholars who will take pride in their membership in the great republic of scholarship, even as they derive value from the work they are doing. There are in the country today just enough effective scholars in our high schools, just enough amateurs who are using for scholarship their leisure time from business or family occupations, to prove that the thing can be done.

Let me now emphasize again the importance in a democracy of a widespread understanding of the scientific method and the value of research. There is no other common ground upon which all citizens of a democracy can meet than that afforded by a common respect for truth and confidence in the procedures of investigation by which the truth is discovered. Science, even social science, has built up a great prestige value in the public mind. But beware! If the public is merely looking on from the outside at the quaint and interesting labors of our research men, then, even though it may defer to the conclusions reached by research, its deference will be unsubstantial. It will set up the professor against the business man, believing in the business man one day and in the professor the next. Such things as academic freedom will be for the public catch words, the real meaning and significance of which it does not understand. To protect democracy, we must protect the spirit of free inquiry for truth; and to protect the spirit of free inquiry for truth, we must broaden the number of people who participate in the inquest.

The situation suggests a parallel from the early days of the automobile. When automobiles were owned by the few, the public attitude toward them was a mixture. In some ways there was great respect for the automobilist, but

on the other hand there was any amount of hampering legislation, and the goggled automobilist drove in the dust on a road with a speed limit of eight miles an hour. But when the bulk of the people became automobilists, then public roads were built, the speed laws changed, and in general the automobile came to fit itself into our culture as a thing commonly understood by all. So also with the method of the scholar. If it be confined in its practice to the few, it may indeed be respected; but the respect given it will not be rooted to withstand the shock of interest, prejudice, and passion. For Plato the great republic was one in which philosophers were kings; if our people are to be our kings, let them also be philosophers.

Let me recapitulate: The formula of history for a democracy is exactly what is implied if we accept the dictum that the writing of history and the making of laws are things that go together. It must be a history of the people as a democracy wants them to be—each with his own individuality held sacred, each with his freedom self-restrained by his own understanding of the values of all the concentric communities in which he is a citizen. Let us therefore have history of the people, by the people, and for the people. This is a long-range program in cultural strategy.

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## MARK TWAIN'S GHOST STORY<sup>1</sup>

A ghost story seems out of place in historical records, but when it is brought to Minnesota and delivered in person by the creator of Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn, then the event may deserve mention in MINNESOTA HISTORY.

On Saturday afternoon, January 24, 1885, a small boy (the author) sat not far from the footlights of the Grand Opera House, then located on Sixth Street in Minneapolis. A rather large audience included many children, present by reason of the Saturday holiday. A long program of readings by Mark Twain and George W. Cable was drawing to a close and the final number, the "Ghost Story" by Mark Twain, was developing thrills of eager anticipation in the minds of the juvenile listeners. Time has left but faint recollection of the previous part of the program, but the ghost story was to furnish an unforgettable climax. As Twain came out on the stage there was a hush of expectancy broken by a sepulchral voice relating the story of the old woman who had died and was laid out in her coffin. The mourners had put coppers on her eyelids to hold them shut. Night had come and her old man had gone to bed, but he kept thinking about those coppers. Temptation overcame him, and he crept cautiously in, stole the coppers, and went back to bed, shivering with fright. The wind whistled through cracks and knotholes—these sound effects being supplied by Twain in a realistic and blood-curdling manner. Then the old woman's ghost appeared wailing "Who's got

<sup>1</sup> This article is an interesting and important supplement to the essay entitled "Mark Twain on the Upper Mississippi," by John T. Flanagan, which appears in the December number of MINNESOTA HISTORY. Mr. Flanagan's narrative tells of the famous humorist's visits to Minnesota in 1882, 1886, and 1895, but does not include the lecture tour made by Mark Twain with George W. Cable in 1884-85, which is the subject of Mr. Pabody's account. *Ed.*



my money? I want my money." Again the moaning and whistling of the wind. And then the ghost and wind alternated five or six times, the moaning of the wind becoming more terrifying and the voice dying away almost to a whisper.

Then a breathless silence for about two seconds. Twain had slowly approached the footlights, crouching as he came, his hands outstretched, fingers hooked like claws. Then, a crash as he stamped with both feet, threw up his hands and yelled "BOO" at the top of his voice. The effect on the audience may be left to the imagination, for the shock was sufficient to leave the hearers without power to observe or describe just what took place. Everybody seemed to bounce or jump from the seats and a chorus of screams filled the air.

So far, personal recollections, more or less accurate, and the author's diary are the sources of information, but the biography of Cable and local newspapers furnish considerable information about a tour which reached from New England to the Mississippi River, and from Kentucky into Canada, and which occupied about four months in time.<sup>2</sup>

After voting for Cleveland on November 4, 1884, Twain and Cable made their first platform appearance together at New Haven the following evening. The complete itinerary may not be available from local sources, but Cable in writing home while on the tour mentions the following places where readings were given: Philadelphia, Newburgh, Washington, Albany, Buffalo, Ithaca, Troy, Rochester, and Grand Rapids, Michigan. From the latter point, Cable wrote on December 14 that he expected to be home in about a week to spend the holidays. Starting out again on Janu-

<sup>2</sup>The diary entry for January 24, 1885, reads as follows: "At two o'clock Aunt Myra and I went to hear Mark Twain and George Cable at the grand opera house." Numerous letters written by Cable during the tour of 1884-85 have been published in a work by his daughter, Lucy L. C. Bikle, entitled *George W. Cable: His Life and Letters* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928).

ary 2, 1885, he and Twain visited a number of cities, including Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Winona, Milwaukee, Chicago, Davenport, Keokuk, Hannibal, St. Louis, Toronto, Montreal, Saratoga, and Syracuse. The tour came to an end about March 1. Thanksgiving eve was spent in Morristown, New Jersey, where Twain and Cable were the guests of Thomas Nast. President Arthur heard the speakers at Washington on November 25, and visited with them between the numbers of the program. President-elect Cleveland was in the audience on December 2 at Troy, New York.

St. Paul was reached on January 23. A local newspaper gives the following report of the entertainment presented that evening in Market Hall:

In the neighborhood of a thousand people assembled at Market hall last evening to listen to the joint entertainment of Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain), and Geo. W. Cable. To say that the audience was highly entertained is putting the case very moderately. Twain supplied the greatest amount of humor, though Cable developed the most versatility. The appearance of the two men is in marked contrast. Mr. Clemens is much the larger man of the two. . . . He speaks with his eyes nearly closed and has a peculiar tone of voice which excites mirth no matter what he may be reciting. Mr. Cable wears a full beard and has a sharp eye which sparkles as he stands before an audience. They were unattended and introduced themselves, Mr. Cable explaining in opening the exercises that he was not Mark Twain. . . .

The Twain-Cable combination can be set down as a success.<sup>3</sup>

Next morning the visitors arrived at the West Hotel in Minneapolis about eleven o'clock, and found a reporter from the *Minneapolis Tribune* waiting to interview them. Twain had the reputation for a cordial dislike of interviews, but on this occasion he was affable and talkative to such an extent that the *Tribune* next day devoted nearly a column and a half to a description of the visitors, a report of their remarks, and a review of their afternoon and evening programs. Quotations in part from the interview follow:

<sup>3</sup> *St. Paul Daily Globe*, January 24, 1885. See also *St. Paul Dispatch*, January 24, 1885.

# PHILHARMONIC HALL

## Monday Evening, Jan. 26.



# Mark Twain and Geo. W. Cable!

**PHILHARMONIC HALL,**  
Monday Evening, Jan. 26.  
**GEORGE W. CABLE!**

(Mr. - R. L. CLEMENS.)

As a reader of his own superb fust; and Mr.

**GEORGE W. CABLE!**  
The distinguished Southern Novelist, presenting  
his own matchless scenes.

**To Appear Together**

Mark Twain's world-famous wit,  
Mr. Cable's exquisite humor and pathos.  
A combination of genius and versatility that appeals  
freely to the intelligent public.  
Reserved Seats, 75c. and \$1, according to location.  
Gallery, 50c. Music may be secured on and after  
Wednesday, Jan. 23, at ELLEN'S Art Store.

The drawing capacity of Mark Twain and Geo. W. Cable would make a mustard plaster go out of business.—*Chicago News Letter.*

As for Mark Twain, the audience either smiled, tittered, or roared whenever he was on the stage. He was funny whenever he intended to be, and funnier when he didn't.—*New York Telegram.*

Major J. P. Bond has brought before the public for three readings in this city the names of Mark Twain and George W. Cable, and they have proved a powerful attraction among the most cultured and intelligent people of this city. The first reading was given last night at Association Hall, where a very select audience assembled, completely filling the three circles of the pretty auditorium.—*Philadelphia Inquirer.*

"Mark Twain" and Mr. Cable amused a large audience at Chickering Hall last night with readings from their own works. The entertainment was unique and thoroughly enjoyed, the laughter and applause during the evening being almost incessant.—*New York Graphic.*

[From the *Winona Daily Republican*, January 26, 1885.]

The two gentlemen in appearance present a marked contrast. Mr. Clemens is so like the wood-cut representations in his works, that even the absence of the plaid pantaloons and a certain general flavor of caricature does not destroy the similitude. His rather long hair and moustache are quite grey, but that doesn't seem to account for the stoop in the sloping shoulders and the comical shuffling side-gait of the humorist. Mr. Clemens has a fashion of throwing his head back on one side, folding his hands behind him and putting an intensely solemn expression into his eyes. One would sooner expect a man who looks that way to deliver a weighty opinion as to the existence of the pre-historic man than to perpetrate a witticism of any sort.

Mr. Cable is short and slight, with a very long brown moustache and beard, prominent forehead, small, bright eyes, and small features. His voice is light and quick, and everything about him indicates a nervous, sensitive, imaginative temperament.

In answer to a question of the reporter, Clemens replied in his peculiar drawl:

Cable and I started on this raid the day after the presidential election, and have been on the road ever since. . . . Two years ago I got some such plan as this in my head. I wanted to get a larger menagerie together, Howells, T. B. Aldrich, "Uncle Remus," Cable and myself, so that we could all go on the stage together, and each read two minutes or so and pose as "the happy family" between times. But Howells had to go to Italy on a commission from the *Century*, which will take him a year to fulfill; and the others couldn't join us for one reason and another, and so Cable and I started out alone.

I suppose I might have gone out on some such expedition all by myself, but I'm afraid it wouldn't be pleasant. I want somebody to keep me in countenance on the stage, and to help me impose on the audience. But more than that, I want good company on the road and at the hotels. A man can start out alone and rob the public, but it's dreary work, and it's a cold blooded thing to do.<sup>4</sup>

When Twain and Cable appeared a week later in Davenport, Iowa, it is interesting to note that the *Davenport Democrat* published the above quotation almost word for word.<sup>5</sup> A suspicion arises that copies had been prepared to give to the reporters, thus saving time and insuring the accuracy of the printed report.

<sup>4</sup> *Minneapolis Tribune*, January 25, 1885.

<sup>5</sup> The *Democrat* of February 2, 1885, is quoted in Bikle, *George W. Cable*, 132n.

Besides the "Ghost Story" the afternoon program in Minneapolis included "King Sollermann" from the *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, the "Tragic Tale of the Fishwife," "A Trying Situation," and the "Stammerer"—all given by Twain. Cable's part of the program included readings from several of his works and two Creole songs, which called forth an encore. The evening performance filled the Grand Opera House. Cable opened the program with "Narcisse in the Inundation," a humorous selection from *Dr. Sevier*, and later he read "The Sound of Drums" and "Mary's Night Ride," and sang two songs in the Creole patois. Twain presented a "Desperate Encounter with an Interviewer," selections from advance sheets of *Huckleberry Finn*, "Tom Bowlin's Encounter with the Governor of Massachusetts," "The Jumping Frog," and he closed with the "Stammerer," which had been given in the afternoon.

The review of the programs published in the *Tribune* included the following description of Twain's stage presence:

The manner in which Mr. Clemens gets on and off the stage is a sight to behold. He starts on in a funny little jog trot, half sideways, with his eyes cast up to the gallery, with a comical look of half inquiry and half appeal. Then he begins to deliver his humorous conceits with an expression of placid and child-like innocence that is almost as ludicrous as the words he is uttering. His gestures are eloquent, if not graceful, and would make any audience laugh, even if Mark had nothing to say. With these accessories his oldest story becomes just as fresh as though it were "fire new from the mint."

After two performances in one day the speakers spent Sunday in Minneapolis as a day of rest. It is safe to assume that Twain, in accordance with his well-known custom, reposed peacefully in bed most of the morning. Not so Cable. In accordance with his well-known custom, he arose early and dressed for church. He then proceeded to Westminster Presbyterian Church at Nicollet Avenue and Seventh Street. Following the service, he was the center

of an impromptu reception and was escorted to the Sunday school room, where he took part in the service by offering a prayer.<sup>6</sup> On Monday, January 26, Twain and Cable went to Winona, where they presented a series of readings at Philharmonic Hall.<sup>7</sup>

In spite of the length and strenuous character of the speaking tour, it seems to have been an enjoyable trip and was financially successful. The entire tour was under the management of Major James B. Pond, who accompanied the speakers and attended to all business details under the direction of Mark Twain. At almost every stop friends offered entertainment and hospitality unlimited. Entertainment reached a strenuous climax on February 19 at the *Toute Bleue Club* of Montreal, where the three members of the party were initiated by a host of uniformed snowshoers through the ceremony of "bouncing." In the words of Cable, each was "thrown bodily into the air almost to the ceiling, caught upon their hands as he came down, thrown up again, caught again, thrown again—so four, five times amid resounding cheers."<sup>8</sup>

Mention has been made of the day of rest in Minneapolis. Every Sunday was a day of rest on the tour. Cable did not believe in traveling on Sunday and his contract with Twain specified that he should not be asked to travel in any public conveyance on that day. This no doubt resulted in a considerable increase in the time required for the tour, but the arrangement was approved by Twain with good-natured tolerance. When he and Cable began their travels, friends might have predicted an early separation on grounds of incompatibility. That they agreed well, however, is proved in a hearty expression of appreciation of Cable written by Twain in a reminiscent mood some ten years later:

<sup>6</sup> Under date of January 25, 1885, the author recorded in his diary: "George W. Cable was at Sunday school and led in prayer."

<sup>7</sup> *Winona Daily Republican*, January 26, 27, 1885.

<sup>8</sup> Bikle, *George W. Cable*, 142.

Yes, *sir!* I liked you in spite of your religion; & I always said to myself that a man that could be good & kindly with that kind of a load on him was entitled to homage—& I *paid* it. And I have always said, & still maintain, that as a railroad-comrade you were perfect—the only railroad-comrade in the world that a man of moods & frets & uncertainties of disposition could travel with, a third of a year, and never weary of his company. We *always* had good times in the cars, & never minded the length of the trip—& my, but they *were* sockdolagers for length!<sup>9</sup>

E. F. PABODY

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

<sup>9</sup> Bikle, *George W. Cable*, 197.

## A FOOTNOTE ON FIRE STEELS<sup>1</sup>

Fire making is an essential of human existence. Stone-age men mastered the art and devised instruments, more or less ingenious, for its practice. In 1827 friction matches were invented in England and nine years later they were first produced in the United States. Until that time, the most practical tool for starting a fire, particularly by hunters and other travelers, was the fire steel and flint. As the friction match came into use, the fire steel went out, so that today even the very word is absent from most dictionaries and comparatively few people now alive have any knowledge of the implement which was an ordinary necessity of life to our great-grandfathers.

The Indian, no less than the white man, had to make fires. When the white man first appeared in his midst, bearing an assortment of "white" goods for barter, the spectacle was so overwhelming that the red man was inclined to look upon the newcomer as a god. At one bound he passed from the Stone to the Iron Age. The superiority of iron knives, awls, hatchets, and other tools to his own stone-age implements was so obvious that the Indian was eager to acquire them, and eventually, having lost his stone-age arts, found them indispensable to his continued existence.

Herein was the basis for the Indian trade, whose conduct became, with the passage of time, thoroughly standardized. One of the staple articles of the trade was the fire steel, a small oval piece of iron designed to slip over the fingers of one hand and present its outer surface or edge to the con-

<sup>1</sup>This paper was presented at the afternoon session of the eighty-eighth annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul on January 18, 1937. In the absence of the author, it was read by Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the society's museum. *Ed.*



tact of a flint held in the other hand. Students of the history of the Northwest are acquainted with the role played therein by the British Indian department at Amherstburg during the first half of the nineteenth century. To Amherstburg (sometimes called "Malden") went annually several thousand Indians, most of them from the United States, to counsel with their British "father" and to receive from him the presents which were regularly doled out. The Indian department was an important branch of the government of Canada, and careful rules for its procedure were made and rigidly enforced. The goods given to the Indians must be ordered a year in advance; they were consigned to the keeper of the storehouse of the Indian department at Amherstburg; they could be given out only by the Indian agent, upon requisitions countersigned by the military commandant; and the storekeeper kept an exact record of all articles received and dispensed by him.<sup>2</sup>

For a third of a century following the building of Fort Malden in 1796, the Indian storekeeper at Amherstburg was George Ironside, and he was succeeded in the office by his son, also named George. The official papers of these two men have been preserved, and they are an indispensable source of information concerning the operations of the Indian department of Upper Canada during the first four decades of the nineteenth century. From them, one learns that fire steels were one of the staples regularly given to the

<sup>2</sup> An amusing illustration of red tape as it existed a century ago is afforded by the correspondence concerning an Indian who died at Amherstburg in January, 1820. It was customary on such occasions for the government to issue a certain amount of cloth to clothe the deceased for burial. For some reason the commandant, in this case, refused to approve the requisition of the agent for the material needed, referring the request to his superior at Quebec, four months distant, for his decision. "You must be well aware," the agent wrote in reply to this action, "that it is unnecessary for me to return the Requisition for the purpose you mention, as you cannot for a moment suppose the corpse of an Indian would be allowed to remain unburied until a requisition for a funeral suit [can] return from Quebec. I have myself purchased the articles for his interment and the Indian is already buried."

Indians by the government, and the annual advance estimates of the supplies needed for distribution disclose that the government assumed that every warrior would require a fire steel on each of his annual visits to the post. How many more he might find need for during the twelve-month interval between visits, one can only surmise.

Since the fire steel never wore out, and was seldom broken, it is obvious that it was frequently lost by its possessor. Inspection of the records of the government storehouse discloses some interesting facts concerning the issues of fire steels. During the decade of the twenties, the number of Indians resorting annually to Amherstburg ranged from five thousand to seventy-five hundred. Perhaps a third of the total were men, and fire steels were issued only to them. For several years the annual estimate of warriors expected to visit the post the coming year was fixed at 2,051, and this was the number of fire steels laid in for distribution each year. In practice, the records disclose that the actual issues fell considerably below the quantity provided, and the individual returns disclose, also, a rather surprising variation in the outgo of fire steels to different bands of visiting Indians. Although every warrior *might* lose his fire steel annually, it is evident either that some of them did not, or else that they procured new ones from some other source than Amherstburg.

The figures that follow are selected for illustrative purposes, from the vastly greater mass of data available. On June 24, 1816, at the beginning of the summer quarter, 996 steels were in store. During the quarter 308 were issued, leaving 688 on hand on September 24. Like present-day tourists, Indians did most of their traveling in warm weather; in the quarter closing December 24, 1817, but 180 steels were given out. A few years later, the number of annual visitors, and alike the quantity of presents issued, was much greater. For 1821 there were 1,737 fire

steels received at Amherstburg, while for 1824-31 inclusive the number annually laid in was fixed at 2,051.<sup>3</sup>

The annual estimates disclose, also, the basis of distribution of the various articles given out as presents and the relative numbers of each which were required. For 1820, for example, two hundred hoes, a hundred half axes, two gross of jew's-harps, four gross of fire steels, and six gross of awls were ordered. The jew's-harp was intended for diversion, while the awl was used in numerous ways daily. Awls were easily lost and might readily be broken; they were used by the women even more than by the men. The supply of two-thirds as many fire steels—issued only to men—as awls sufficiently indicates that the steels were indispensable to the red man's domestic economy.

Sample issues of fire steels to individual bands of visitors to Amherstburg in 1816 are the following: on August 8, to 72 Indians, 12 steels; August 18, to 60 Indians, 10 steels; August 19, to 10 Indians, 10 steels; August 20, to 43 Indians, 16 steels; September 16, to 237 Indians, 100 steels; September 20, to 259 Indians, 96 steels; September 25, to 273 Indians, 116 steels; October 2, to 410 Indians, 125 steels. The foregoing parties included men, women, and children, and since the advance estimates provided for giving a fire steel to each warrior, one may infer that the number of steels issued indicates the number of men in each party. For certain later years, the returns disclose the ages and sexes of the members of the bands, suitable age groupings being utilized for the boys and girls. For such years as 1832, 1836, and 1838 the returns show that fire steels were issued to all men visiting the post. In the period from June 11 to July 9, 1832, for example, 18 parties, totaling 1,956 persons, went to Amherstburg. The number of men in the eighteen parties was 540, and 540 fire steels were given to them.

<sup>3</sup> The number for 1828 and 1829 each, was 2,049; no estimate for 1830 has been found.

The Indians who resorted to Amherstburg were from all the states of the old Northwest, and on occasion from Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota as well. Their number comprised but a minor fraction of the total Indian population of this vast area. Those who never went to Malden had the same need for fire steels as those whose wants were supplied by their British "father." The British officials were prudent, and the official provision of one fire steel annually for each man affords clear proof of the high incidence of loss of the tiny implement which commonly occurred. To-day, comparatively few people have ever seen a fire steel. Yet the Indians carried them everywhere over the Northwest (the present note takes no account of the white man's use of them), and lost, or mislaid, them frequently.<sup>4</sup> Their small size and their indestructible character unite to support the conclusion that specimens are likely to be found almost anywhere, especially along highways of travel, or around village and camp sites. Illustrative is the fact that a large number have been picked up in recent years at Niles, Michigan, in the vicinity of Fort St. Joseph. Since they have no intrinsic value, or apparent use, it seems likely that farmers and other outdoor workers come upon many specimens which the finder does not recognize, or take the trouble to preserve.

The foregoing observations have a definite bearing upon the argument for the historical validity of the Kensington stone, recording the visit of a party of Norsemen to Minnesota in 1362. In his book on the subject, Mr. H. R. Holland devotes much space to certain "corroborative finds"

<sup>4</sup>For an illustration of the use of fire steels by white men, see Gurdon S. Hubbard, *Autobiography*, 99 (Chicago, 1911). The traders mentioned here lost their steels and narrowly escaped death from freezing as a result. A pioneer's narrative of life in Wayne County, Michigan, a century ago discloses that a jackknife might be used upon a flint to strike a spark. The fire steel, however useful, was evidently not absolutely essential to the ingenious pioneer settler. See William Nowlin, "The Barkcovered House, or Pioneer Life in Michigan," in *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, 4: 499.

of supposed medieval Norse implements, whose discovery in Minnesota is presumed to afford proof of the expedition of 1362. One of these finds is a fire steel, said to have been found near Climax about 1871. In volume 17 of this magazine (p. 35), Professor Laurence M. Larson ridicules the contention with respect to the fire steel, and Mr. Holand, on pages 183-185 of the same volume presents his rejoinder, bolstering anew his argument upholding the probative significance of the fire steel.

The present writer has neither space nor purpose to traverse the arguments of the two writers, which the reader who is interested may better read for himself. It seems proper to note, however, that the Climax fire steel was found on a dry knoll, embedded in charcoal and ashes. Charcoal and ashes imply a fire, and a dry knoll implies a logical site for an Indian village, tepee, or camp site. If the place in question was actually an Indian village site, it is probable that many more fire steels than the one accidentally unearthed in 1871 are concealed beneath the soil of the immediate vicinity. The argument from negative evidence, which Mr. Holand employs, is valid only when one explores all possible sources of information. An important one that Mr. Holand evidently overlooked is the use of fire steels in the Indian trade, which dates from the first appearance of the white man in the Northwest. The Norsemen may, or may not, have visited Minnesota in 1362; the chance discovery of a fire steel near Climax in 1871 sheds no conceivable light upon this interesting question.

M. M. QUAIFE

BURTON HISTORICAL COLLECTION  
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

## THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN 1936<sup>1</sup>

The Minnesota Historical Society is a living and growing institution, and its annual report must therefore be more than a mere chronicle of happenings or tabulation of work done. It must appraise life and growth, take stock of the service of the society to the people of the state, test the effectiveness with which it is meeting opportunities and challenges, gauge its alertness to new trends, and demonstrate the continuity of its emphasis upon old and fundamental tasks. In this spirit we contemplate a year marked by an increased tempo of effort and progress and by unusual expansion of service—a year of long-range planning, co-operation with the national government and with local communities, broad surveys, and a drive toward a better organization of resources and knowledge.

A lively popular interest, excellent attendance, and programs of good quality have characterized the society's several meetings. The program of the eighty-seventh annual meeting, held on January 16, ranged in its several sessions from a conference on local history problems to an address on "Our National Archives," delivered by Dr. R. D. W. Connor, the archivist of the United States. The annual "peripatetic seminar," as someone has aptly called the summer tour and convention, was a one-day trip, on June 27, exploiting the historical backgrounds and scenic beauties of the St. Croix Valley, with program sessions at Hastings, Stillwater, Interstate Park, and Marine. The "motorcade" included three chartered busses and a half-hundred cars, and one of the sessions attracted an audience

<sup>1</sup>A report presented at the afternoon session of the eighty-eighth annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society in the Historical Building, St. Paul, on January 18, 1937. *Ed.*

of nearly five hundred people. The autumn meeting of the society, held on October 12, was devoted to the story of old Grand Portage. One of the speakers, Mr. Ralph D. Brown, reported on what the spade has brought to light at the spot where once stood the palisaded post of the Northwest Company.

An interested membership is the lifeblood of the society. The problem, as usual, is how to reach those hundreds of Minnesotans who would gladly join as members, if invited to do so, and here the co-operation of the present membership is urgently needed. Not that a dark picture emerges from the record for 1936. The society enrolled 91 new members and reinstated 3, and there were 34 lost by death and 79 by withdrawal. At the end of the year there were 1,351 active members, 187 subscribing schools and libraries, and 44 institutional members—a grand total of 1,582, whereas a year ago the total was 1,598. In the light of these figures it may be argued that the membership has substantially held its own, but it is clear that an extension of the membership would both spread the gospel of state history and add strength to the society.

A vital bond between the society and its membership is the quarterly magazine, *MINNESOTA HISTORY*, which completed its seventeenth volume in 1936. Each year this periodical makes interesting and worthwhile additions to the history of Minnesota and the Northwest, and as the volumes are added, one after the other, the total takes on a certain impressiveness. The range of subject matter for a given year is perhaps a reflection of the varied aspects of Minnesota history and life. Last year the magazine contained articles on such topics as Ignatius Donnelly's faded metropolis, the Kensington rune stone, the St. Croix Valley, Mark Twain in Minnesota, the Finnish culture in Minnesota, the John Lind Papers, and the national archives of America. Cheering to the editors, and perhaps gratifying to the society itself, is a recent letter from Professor Allan

Nevins of Columbia University, the noted historian and biographer, who wrote to say "how much instruction and enjoyment" he receives from the magazine, adding that in his opinion it is a "model for publications of the kind."

A magazine contribution of unusual flavor, a pioneer artist's diary which appeared in several installments under the title "Making a Motion Picture in 1848," aroused so much interest and comment that it was reprinted in the form of a small book, attractively bound in boards. Other publications of the year include two additional numbers in the series of *Special Bulletins* inaugurated in 1935. A manual on the *Care and Cataloguing of Manuscripts* may properly be described as a pioneering piece of work, a "long step," according to Professor Binkley, "in the direction of doing for manuscript resources what Dewey and Cutter did for book resources." A *Bibliography of Minnesota Territorial Documents*, compiled by Esther Jerabek, will serve as an open sesame to the treasures of official printed materials relating to pioneer Minnesota. This analytical, indexed guide was a task, to quote Professor Anderson, "well worth the doing" and "done exceedingly well." Every year sees some progress on editorial enterprises that are being planned for the future.<sup>2</sup> Among those advanced during the year 1936 may be mentioned the travel diary of an English hunter on the northwestern frontier in 1847, a document found by Dr. Nute in England; a volume of selections from the writings of James M. Goodhue, personal journalist of pioneer Minnesota; a book of Red River Valley missionary documents; a check list of Minnesota fic-

<sup>2</sup> It is evident that the society will have to issue a supplement to the volume entitled *With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier in 1851*, edited by Bertha L. Heilbron and published in 1932 as volume 1 in the *Narratives and Documents* series. A portion of Frank B. Mayer's diary, hitherto missing, including accounts of the treaties of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota, has recently been located in the American Museum of Natural History in New York. The newly found material was charred by the Baltimore fire of 1904, but most of the text can be deciphered.



tion; and a bibliography of the writings of the late Warren Upham. Twelve numbers of the *Minnesota Historical News*, carrying more than seventy brief articles to the press of the state, have appeared during the year; as have the four numbers of the quarterly *Check List of Minnesota Public Documents*.

Appalling and bewildering are the amount and variety of historical treasures garnered by the society during the year. The momentum of an established institution, the interest stirred by meetings and other popular activities, a vigilant staff, and the impetus of WPA projects—these have all played parts in enlarging the harvest. The library was enriched by the addition of 3,346 books, pamphlets, and newspaper volumes, bringing the total count officially to 188,360. Fifty-seven per cent of the year's accessions were gifts. Currently received periodicals total 1,347, of which no fewer than 653 are published in Minnesota; and the society is filing 561 current newspapers, 490 of which are published in Minnesota.

A dramatic gift of the year was a group of thirty-three single issues of as many different newspapers, all printed in the summer of 1857 and deposited that year in a tightly sealed, lead box that was fitted into the cornerstone of the Minnesota Central University building at Hastings. Seventy-nine years later the box was opened and the treasure trove, perfectly preserved, was presented to this society. Seven of the papers, including the *Oronoco Courier* and the *Republican Advocate* of Shakopee, were not hitherto represented in our collection, and fifteen others fitted neatly into gaps in our files. During the year the society received a priceless collection of pamphlets originally collected by Alexander Ramsey and now presented by his granddaughters, the Misses Anita and Laura Furness. From far-off Stockholm came a large group of rare books and pamphlets relating to Scandinavian migration to America. Among

hundreds of other interesting additions to the library, only four will be mentioned: a narrative of Indian captivity by Mary Butler Renville, published at Minneapolis in 1863, of which heretofore no copy had been known to us; Dutch and Italian editions of Lahontan's famous narrative of travel and exploration; and a copy of Father Belcourt's rare work on the Ojibway language, published in 1839.

During the year the Old Trails chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution inaugurated a book memorial in honor of the late Mrs. James T. Morris. Preliminary gifts of fifty dollars were made toward the building up of a special collection in colonial history, the field of Mrs. Morris' major interest. A somewhat similar memorial was established some years ago by the Monument chapter in honor of Mrs. Marshall H. Coolidge, and a new gift was added to that collection during the past year. A number of special organizations and individuals have generously aided the society's library in its basic task of collecting. Thus Dr. Francis L. Palmer, registrar and historiographer of the diocese of Minnesota, has been tireless in his efforts to build up the Seabury-Tanner collection of Protestant Episcopal church records.

In no year since the society was founded have the accessions of manuscripts been so numerous as they were in 1936. In this banner year there were 272 accessions, some of them representing thousands of papers and documents. The number of new collections may be compared with 186 in 1935, with 146 in 1934, and with 112 in 1922. Perhaps the outstanding single addition was a collection of seven filing boxes of the papers of James Manahan, a prominent figure in the progressive movement in Minnesota. These manuscripts take their place alongside the Lind and Donnelly and Lindbergh papers and enhance the value of the society's treasures in the important field of the liberal and progressive political movements in state history.

In contrast to the experience of all previous years, how-

ever, the most noticeable growth has been, not in the domain of personal papers, but in that of the records of churches, clubs, other organizations and institutions, and local government units. Some examples are the records of the St. Paul Turnverein, the Cigar Makers' Union of St. Paul, the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association, the Northfield Lyceum, the Litchfield Livestock Shipping Association, the Cokato Elevator Company, the League of Minnesota Poets, and the St. Paul Municipal Chorus. The papers of eighteen churches and church societies have been received, including copies of the minutes of the mission church at La Pointe on Madeline Island, running as far back as 1833; and the records of the Congregational Church of Excelsior, dating from 1853. Supplementing such archives are the semiofficial papers of missionaries and pastors, including James Peet, Methodist, Ole Nilsen, Lutheran, and Charles C. Rollitt, Episcopalian.

Newly acquired diaries, either originals or copies, have a wide range of interest, representing, for example, such persons and periods as the following: William Cross, who wrote of agriculture and social conditions in Martin County from 1881 to 1916; James H. Bell, whose diary tells of conditions in Winona from 1889 to 1892; Charles Brewster, surveyor in Sibley County in the fifties; John H. Macomber, soldier and Methodist preacher in the sixties; James Wickes Taylor, whose diary, recording experiences and events at Cincinnati in the forties, is a valuable addition to the society's great collection of Taylor Papers; William R. Brown, pioneer farmer near Newport in the middle forties; Cornelius Janzen, Russian Mennonite, a farmer near Mountain Lake, 1862 to 1913; Jeremiah Porter, missionary at Sault Ste. Marie in the thirties; Mrs. Sarah G. Baird, member of the Edina Grange in Hennepin County, 1882 to 1918; Jennette Pond, daughter of Samuel Pond, from 1850 to 1856; and Gideon Pond himself, one of the famous missionary brothers.

Not less interesting than the diaries are the recollections of Henry H. Snelling, a son of the noted Colonel Josiah Snelling, and the autobiography of Thomas Pederson, Norwegian-American pioneer of Wisconsin and Minnesota, who surveys in his fascinating narrative experiences from the sixties to the present. Personal papers and letters are represented by the collections of Professor Gisle Bothne of the University of Minnesota; Michael Dresbach, a Civil War soldier; Twiford Hughes, a postal official of Minneapolis; Eli K. Pickett, a soldier in the Civil and Sioux wars; Timothy Sheehan, well-known officer at Fort Ridgely in Sioux War days and agent for the Chippewa at White Earth in the eighties; and Leonard W. Dibble, whose more than fifty letters tell of travel in southern Minnesota from 1865 to 1873.

The avalanche of new manuscript material is matched by the record of the society's museum, which has also experienced a banner year. Notwithstanding the fact that problems of space and of duplication have made necessary a highly selective policy in the acceptance of museum objects, it seemed advisable to receive in 1936 a total of 978 gifts in the historical, ethnological, numismatic, and archaeological fields, exactly 350 more than in 1935. The number of pictures was 4,331, a thousand more than were obtained in 1935; today the picture collection as a whole totals 55,554. In 1936 there were also 2,119 negatives and 111 slides added. However tempting it may be to mention and describe scores of recent museum gifts, only three can be alluded to in this report: a notable collection of furniture, china, silver, glassware, and other objects presented by Miss Mary H. Folwell and other members of the Folwell family as a memorial to Dr. and Mrs. William Watts Folwell; a gold watch once used by Governor Ramsey, presented by his granddaughters; and a Red Cross flag made by Miss Theresa Ericksen when a nurse in the Philippines and re-

cently presented by her at a memorable ceremony held in the society's auditorium.

Some of the outstanding achievements of the society during the year center about WPA projects under its sponsorship and direction. The society's policy of co-operation with the national and state relief administrations has placed an extraordinary strain upon the regular staff, but the rewards have been rich, both in the easing of unemployment distress and in the accomplishment of enterprises outside the sphere of routine tasks, enterprises that seem to be turning old dreams into present realities. As a by-product of its initiative, sustained effort, and insistence upon high standards of work, the society appears to have won a position of recognized national leadership in this field.

Recently the National Archives announced that Minnesota was the first state in the Union to complete an inventory of federal archives preserved within a state area. That sounds like a short and sweet story, but behind it is a vast project directed from the society's building by Mr. Jacob Hodnefield, who co-operated closely with a national director, Dr. P. M. Hamer. It employed at one time as many as seventy-four workers, all engaged in answering this question: What federal records are preserved in Minnesota? The project has answered the question with an inventory of the records of 1,033 different agencies located in 701 different buildings in this state, records that would fill twenty-three miles of continuous shelves. The answer is now filed in detailed reports, but it is being brought together in a systematic guide to the federal archives in Minnesota which will be of state as well as of national historical interest.

Another ambitious project is a broad survey of historical records in Minnesota, launched by the society late in 1935 as a continuation of CWA and FERA undertakings and integrated as far as circumstances permitted, early in 1936,

with a federal survey directed from Washington by Dr. Luther H. Evans. The entire affair has been an adventure in co-operation, for it has also involved working in harmony with state and local history organizations, while on top of this the state director, Mr. Ralph D. Brown, has been obliged to manage and correlate the efforts of 135 workers stationed in as many as sixty counties, adjusting all personnel procedures to the administrative machinery of state and local relief administrations.

The important question is this: Have the results been commensurate with the effort? Let us look briefly at the record. The surveys have substantially completed the inventorying of both the state and county archives of Minnesota. Inventories have also been made of the records of more than eight hundred townships, more than four hundred municipalities, and some nineteen hundred school districts and schools. These WPA projects have also listed the records kept by nearly seventeen hundred organizations, thirteen hundred churches, and seven hundred cemeteries throughout Minnesota. As the enterprise closes in upon its final objectives, it is attempting, with the collaboration of the society's editorial staff, the preparation of a comprehensive report, county by county, on the local archives of Minnesota, utilizing information assembled since the first county archival inventories were made nearly two decades ago. It is also drawing up similar reports upon other categories of material, notably the church records. So we are trying to take stock of the wealth of record material, up and down the state, that exists today.

Even this is not the full story of the records surveys, for the projects have supplied supervision for significant archaeological enterprises; a photographer has taken or reproduced some three thousand photographs of historical interest; a draftsman has drawn an impressive series of maps showing the early growth of St. Paul; field agents like sleuths have followed clues leading to the discovery of

diaries and other manuscript treasures; workers on church records have compiled brief histories of hundreds of churches; a stream of books and pamphlets and museum objects has poured in upon the society; and county and municipal officers as well as church officials have been given practical aid in putting their records in order. A comprehensive report is being assembled on the actual conditions attending the filing and preservation of state and county archives, and suggestions and recommendations looking toward the raising of standards will soon be made. The projects are still going forward, though with reduced personnel, and much remains to be done in consolidating the gains that have been made. There have been many complex problems of administration, and, naturally enough, considerable unevenness in the quality of the work done. It is clear, however, that the historical records surveys have made worth-while contributions to the society and the state.

Closely related to the records surveys are two interesting archaeological projects of the past year, the one at the site of the old Northwest Company post at Grand Portage, strategic fur-trade center in the late eighteenth century, and the other at Fort Ridgely, famous nucleus of frontier defense in the Minnesota River Valley. Co-operating with the United States Indian Service in one enterprise, and with the state and national park services in the other, the society and the records survey furnished expert field supervision, notably on the part of Mr. Brown and Mr. G. H. Smith, for extensive and carefully conducted excavations at these two places. Mr. Babcock acted as general advisor and representative of the society. The work at Grand Portage brought to light the line of the ancient stockade, several building foundations, and not a few special objects, and in general made available information that will prove invaluable if, as is hoped by many, the historic post should be reconstructed. The excavation at Fort Ridgely laid bare eight building foundations, solved many puzzling problems,

and resulted in the finding of nearly nine hundred articles, such as pipes, candle molds, glassware, coins, and buttons.

The society's special WPA project for forwarding important nonroutine undertakings at the Historical Building has been continued throughout the year and now has a staff of thirty-four, with Mr. Babcock as general supervisor and many staff members directing particular phases of the work. Expert state observers have pronounced this project a model one, both on the side of administration and on that of its concrete results, especially the amazing amount and variety of work accomplished through it. This is part of the record: notable progress on a long overdue inventory of the general library collection, with approximately 140,000 items handled and checked during the year; an index of the names of Minnesota men in the Civil and Indian wars nearing completion; the enlargement of the biographical card index by 7,630 new entry cards instead of the usual 1,500; progress on a comprehensive check list of Minnesota public documents from 1858 to 1925 and a cumulation for the decade following 1925; advance in the arranging and listing of the pamphlet collection; enlargement of the bibliography of Minnesota fiction; steady progress on a name index to the Minnesota entries in the census of 1860, with 40,000 cards already filed; and much work in transcribing documents and arranging, sorting, and photographing manuscripts. But this is not the whole story. With project assistance, the newspaper bibliography and inventory, one of the largest undertakings of the society, has been advanced to the stage of putting several divisions into final form. The miniature models of historical scenes, now so striking a feature of our museum exhibits, have been brought to a total of nine, and two additional groups are nearing completion. And notable progress has been made on such enterprises as the analytical catalogue of the picture collection, the mapping of the Red River trails, the typing of interesting travel accounts in pioneer Minnesota news-



papers, and sundry other jobs. Supplementing all this has been a vast amount of work by WPA cabinetmakers, painters, electricians, and other craftsmen. They have built cases for the miniature models; they have made reading stands, tables, trucks, and other furniture and equipment; and they have refinished cases, desks, and chairs, varnished floors, and done many other jobs.

There remains to be mentioned one of the largest of the WPA enterprises affecting the society—a series of notable improvements and additions to the Historical Building planned in co-operation with the custodian's office and by special authorization of the executive council. The main work of constructing the new newspaper and archives filing hall along the lower terrace was completed last summer. This huge reservoir of space has already been put to excellent storage use, but it is hoped that legislative appropriations will open the way to installing steel filing equipment so that it can serve the basic purposes for which it was designed. Meanwhile, another great construction project was launched in September in the upper terrace area. This involves the excavation of the broad area around the upper terrace and the building of a series of rooms, with concrete floors and steel columns suitable for stack support, on the levels of the present basement and ground floor. A doorway for delivery purposes will be provided on the rear driveway and there will be a wide stairway descending from the floor level to the basement. Thus we can look forward to solving a pressing problem, that of museum, library, and general storage and filing. At the same time, upon the initiative of the Capitol authorities, a passenger tunnel is being built from the Historical Building to the Capitol, with an entrance from our basement corridor. The passageway follows the sidewalk and then cuts diagonally under the street, entering the Capitol at the end of its newly completed terrace storage room.

The members of the society's staff have cheerfully and

efficiently met the unusual demands made upon their time and effort by the supervision and counsel needed in special projects, but they have not neglected the homely routine work of handling incoming materials and serving the public. In the library 3,220 items were catalogued during the year, and 20,489 cards were added to the various card index files. Owing in part to some additional catalogue assistance, the items catalogued ran well ahead of the number of current accessions for cataloguing. Gratifying is the special progress made under the direction of the head cataloguer in reorganizing and classifying the pamphlet collection. She has also supervised a thorough revision of the public catalogue guide cards, which involved the printing and filing of forty-five hundred new cards. Plans for the book stacks on tier B of the main library were worked out during the year and the installation will take place early in 1937. In the newspaper department a special newspaper press was secured through the labor of WPA workers; a special section on floor D was set apart by wire grating for the accommodation of rare materials; and the staff, in addition to keeping up with current routine, sorted and listed various miscellaneous collections of papers.

Thirty-six special exhibits have been arranged by the museum; among the WPA miniature models installed are scenes depicting a pioneer homestead in the timber country and a sodhouse and prairie scene; and dioramas now being made include a Red River cart train scene, a Minnesota lumber camp, and a frontier main street. The year has witnessed a large amount of arranging and repairing of manuscripts. Among the papers arranged may be mentioned the Lind, Manahan, Sheehan, and Bothne collections. Interest in micro-photography has been continued and during the summer Dr. Charles Ritchey of Drake University was engaged to do special photographic work. The unusual volume of accessions put extra burdens upon the manuscript division, as well as upon the library and museum staff.

One WPA worker, Miss Irene Persons, acted as a field worker for the society in interviewing Minnesota people with a view to securing gifts of manuscripts; and one of the vice presidents of the society, Mr. Ira C. Oehler, took an active interest throughout the year in suggesting possible sources of manuscript gifts. Occasionally, the society lent its efforts to special manuscript collecting enterprises, for example, the building up of a Dr. Alfred Owre collection as an aid to a biographer of the distinguished leader in the field of dental education. Though perhaps outside the immediate scope of this report, mention must be made of the completion, by Mrs. Walter Hyde and other members of the Keewaydin chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, of a name index to the Minnesota portion of the census of 1850.

Numbers are not the only significant measure of the use made of the collections of historical societies, but they have a certain interest, perhaps especially if considered comparatively. During 1936 the society received more than 38,000 visitors in its museum and served 5,040 patrons of its general library, 3,138 readers of its newspapers, and 1,102 users of its manuscripts. In every branch there was a rise over last year, notably in the general library, where the increase was 21 per cent, in the newspaper department, where it was 37 per cent, and in the manuscript division, where it was 127 per cent. This extraordinary increase in the use of manuscripts was due in part to the circumstance that our manuscript census schedules were extensively employed for verifying the ages of applicants for old age assistance. In fact, the board of control, through its old age assistance division, has placed temporarily in the manuscript division a full-time worker, Mrs. Sara D. Boyce, who already has utilized our materials in checking the records on seven thousand applications. For more than four thousand she has succeeded in finding pertinent data. In the library reading room there was a notable increase in the use of materials

for historical purposes. There was no lessening of interest in the genealogical field, but readers in that field constituted only 28 per cent, whereas a year ago they were 40 per cent, of the total. The WPA writers' project, which is preparing what promises to be an extremely useful and interesting Minnesota guidebook, sent many workers daily to explore historical material in the society's custody. It may be of interest to note that in the newspaper department the number of readers during each of the first three quarters of 1936 exceeded the total for the entire year of 1926.

As usual, not a few of the society's activities fell directly within the sphere of public education. Staff members, for example, responded to some sixty or more invitations to give talks and papers before clubs, local historical societies, and regional and national associations. The reference librarian, who continues to conduct the society's "Information Bureau," sent out 330 reports and letters in response to inquiries coming from Minnesota and twenty-two other states, besides answering innumerable questions by telephone. Staff members made numerous field trips to points outside the Twin Cities, Mr. Babcock on no fewer than nineteen occasions. One of Miss Nute's nine field trips was a journey to California and Oregon made in quest of materials for the growing Lindbergh Collection.

The superintendent, with the assistance of Mr. Lewis Beeson, brought out toward the close of the year a topical study outline entitled *Minnesota: Its History and Its People*, with a view to encouraging the study of state history in the schools of the state and by clubs and individuals. Such encouragement has its place, but it is worth noting that there is a rising tide of historical interest throughout the state. One of its most significant manifestations is the local history movement, which continues to show force and vitality. It is not merely that three new local historical societies have come into existence during 1936, bringing the total to forty-nine active local organizations, but that

the younger generation is stepping into the leadership of the movement, that local museums are being rapidly developed and better housed with each passing year, and that constructive local programs and projects are being formulated and carried through, some of them with WPA aid,<sup>3</sup> others as independent enterprises. These and other tendencies point to increasing momentum in that movement for organizing local history effort and interest that was launched a little more than a decade and a half ago by the Minnesota Historical Society. Of great interest also are the vigor and activity of certain special historical societies, notably the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul and the Norwegian-American Historical Association, with headquarters at Northfield.

It is proof indeed of the strong professional interests of staff members that amid the stir and bustle of this busy year they have somehow managed to find time and energy to carry on special activities. Dr. Nute has made notable progress on her biography of Radisson and Groseilliers and completed the editing of an important travel diary. Miss Krausnick attended the Richmond meeting of the American Library Association. Mr. Larsen continued his research on the history of the road system of Minnesota, and, with Mrs. Larsen, made important progress on the bibliography of Minnesota newspapers. Mr. Babcock wrote an interesting article on St. Croix Valley history and continued to build up his collection of transcripts of pioneer travel narratives. Miss Ackermann made a careful study of the career of the frontier scout, George Northrup. Miss Jera-bek completed and saw published her *Bibliography of Min-*

<sup>3</sup> Local history and museum projects are under way in about fifteen Minnesota counties. Recently there has been a tendency toward reorganizing and co-ordinating such projects on a district basis under the general sponsorship of the Minnesota Historical Society. Two such districts have been created in areas centering at Detroit Lakes and Brainerd. Mr. Richard Sackett of the society's general records survey staff is acting as state WPA adviser on the local and regional projects.

nesota Territorial Documents. Miss Ingram took time for further library studies at the University of Chicago, served as chairman of the cataloguers' section of the Minnesota Library Association, and made many additions to her bibliography of Minnesota fiction. Miss Fawcett made her annual survey of Minnesota publications for the state library association. Mrs. Berthel devoted much time to supervising the editing of county archives inventories, and also advanced the preparation of her volume on Goodhue. Mrs. Warming did the annual revision of the Minnesota section in the *Statesman's Yearbook*. The superintendent brought out, with Professor Ruud of the University of Minnesota, a volume of *Norwegian Emigrant Songs and Ballads*; was the author of a bulletin on *Problems of American Archivists*, published by the National Archives; and in December was elected to membership in the council of the new Society of American Archivists.

This report indicates that the central problem of the staff has been that of carrying on routine duties without diminution of efficiency while undertaking the many difficult and time-consuming duties that special projects have placed upon us. I will say simply that the staff has risen nobly to the occasion, with competence, hard work, and devotion to the best interests of the society. I should like to name the staff members, one after another, tell of their service to the society, and express the thanks of the society and of myself for what they have done, but in lieu of that, I will only say that they have merited such appreciation and that I cherish the unselfish, co-operative, and handsome spirit in which they have carried on our common tasks. My expression of gratitude on behalf of myself and the society is also extended to the directors, assistant supervisors, and workers on the many WPA projects. It may be added that there were only a few changes in the society's staff during the year. Mr. Charles Boeck resigned as newspaper assistant in August and was succeeded by Mr. Edward Werneke.

In mid-October Mrs. Elizabeth Barry resigned as accessions assistant, and her place was taken by Miss Mary Fitz-Gibbon. Both Mr. Boeck and Mrs. Barry had given long and devoted service to the society, and their resignations were received with genuine regret. Mrs. Robert Beveridge served as a part-time assistant in the manuscript division from February until July, when she resigned and Miss Julia Meyer was employed in her place. Miss Gertrude Ackermann was promoted on July 1 to the position of assistant curator of manuscripts. Mrs. Gudrun A. Jensen, a trained cataloguer, was employed on a part-time basis in the catalogue department, beginning November 15.

The budget for the biennium 1937-39 was duly submitted to the budget commission after having been approved by the society's executive committee. The requests were based upon a very careful study of actual problems and needs. A special appropriation of \$10,000 was asked for the purposes of installing stacks and shelves in a portion of the new filing hall in the lower terrace. In the matter of salaries, the restoration of the levels preceding the emergency reductions was proposed. At the same time it was suggested that three minor positions be established in order to meet some of the urgent problems created by the society's growth and expansion in recent years, the positions, namely, of newspaper, manuscript, and museum assistants. The total request for salaries and wages was \$34,980 annually and for supplies and expenses, \$17,500. In the state budget as submitted by the governor and the budget commission to the legislature, the figure for stacks and shelves is reduced to \$9,000, that for salaries and wages to \$32,500, and that for supplies and expenses to \$15,000. The amounts recommended would permit a salary readjustment, but of the three new positions proposed, only one is endorsed; and in the matter of supplies and expenses, the society, confronted by generally rising prices and costs, would encounter a difficult situation.

The general condition of the society, however, does not warrant a closing note of pessimism. In the light of the present report it must be clear that the Minnesota Historical Society is straining every effort and resource to serve the people of the state efficiently and well. It has its eyes open to both the opportunities and the new trends of the time. The record demonstrates not only that the spirit of the society's staff is professional and its standards high, but that the institution is in tune with an age that is emphasizing planning, careful organization, and intelligent co-operation. And it also proves that the fundamental purposes of collecting Minnesota records, of making the society's resources readily available, of administering the institution on a sound basis, and of reaching out to the citizens and communities of the state in a practical program of education are being faithfully upheld and carried forward.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL



## THE 1937 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

For seventeen successive years the Minnesota Historical Society has set aside sessions of its annual meetings for conferences on local history work in Minnesota. These conferences have not attracted large audiences; they have caused no undue emotion or stir in the hearts of newspaper reporters; and yet it is doubtful that any historical sessions sponsored by the society have been more fruitful of results. The story is a simple one: local history leaders and workers have come together to exchange ideas, to ask and answer questions, to spread the contagion of interest and enthusiasm; and their conferences, one each year for nearly two decades, have been a considerable factor in a significant state-wide movement. Only about fifty people gathered in the auditorium of the Historical Building in St. Paul for the seventeenth conference, which opened the society's eighty-eighth annual meeting on January 18, but the audience that turned out for this morning session included representatives of some fifteen or more local historical societies, and it was drawn from many parts of Minnesota. The presiding officer was the president of one of the state's local societies—the Reverend M. Casper Johnshoy of Pope County—and the general theme of the conference was of direct and practical interest, "Progress and Problems in Local History Work in Minnesota."

Mr. Johnshoy called first upon Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society, who presented a stimulating survey of "Local History Work in Minnesota in 1936." People have learned that the "record of one community, multiplied hundreds of times, with local variations, is the history of the state and of the nation," said Mr. Babcock. That Minnesotans are

rapidly learning this lesson and are organizing for the study and preservation of local backgrounds was graphically illustrated on a map of the state presented by the speaker. Blocked off in colors were the counties and communities having local historical organizations, and it was gratifying to note that they occupy well over half the area of the state. Three of the societies indicated on the map, in Chippewa and Morrison counties and in the village of Cass Lake, were organized in 1936, according to Mr. Babcock; a society has been planned in Yellow Medicine County; and signs of interest are evident in Grant and Kittson counties. "Active, energetic leadership by younger business and professional men and women" was characteristic of the local historical movement in 1936, according to Mr. Babcock. Under the new leadership, membership campaigns have been conducted by several societies with notable results. The Winona County Historical Society, for example, reports 255 members at the end of its first year of activity. Among the evidences of interest in local historical work described by the speaker were the publication in community newspapers of numerous articles furnished by local historians, the presence of as many as ten thousand people at summer meetings sponsored by local societies, and the establishment of county and community museums for the preservation of historical material assembled by local workers. The part played by the WPA in forwarding the latter type of activity was stressed by the speaker, who mentioned the interest of the state historical society in local museum projects and announced its willingness to co-operate in the work.

The supervisor of the Stearns County museum project, Miss Marjory D. Carter of St. Cloud, followed Mr. Babcock on the program. She took as her subject "Interviewing the Pioneer and Writing His Biography," telling how to locate pioneers who might be interviewed, how to gain their confidence, what types of questions to ask, and the like. She suggested that an interviewer "gather from every

available source all the information that can be found about the pioneer, his family, work, and interests" before starting an interview, that this information should be verified during an interview, that leading rather than direct questions should be used, and that questions should "suit the experiences of the individual pioneer." Included in the notes made by an interviewer, said Miss Carter, should be listed the "pictures, museum articles, diaries, plats, letters, and other historical papers" in the possession of the pioneer, and any information about people and places that can be gleaned from birth certificates, marriage licenses, and family Bibles. She also made the interesting suggestion that "dates of births, marriages, and deaths, and locations and dates of claims or homesteads should be checked against records in the county courthouse."

After thanking Miss Carter for her practical suggestions, the chairman called upon Mr. Ralph D. Brown of Minneapolis for a discussion of "Problems in the Historical Records Survey," of which he is state director. He reminded the audience that the survey was inaugurated in December, 1935, as a WPA project under the sponsorship of the Minnesota Historical Society. The program of historical work undertaken by the survey included the making of inventories of public records in Minnesota, papers of organizations and business concerns, manuscript materials in public and private hands, and the holdings of local historical societies; and the listing of churches, cemeteries, monuments and markers, historic buildings, historic trails, and historic sites. Mr. Brown presented figures to show what had been accomplished in carrying out this program. As a result of the survey, he said, many additions have been made to the collections of the state historical society. He pointed out that in connection with this work, excavations at Grand Portage and at old Fort Ridgely had been supervised, and the storage space for archives in every courthouse in the state had been examined. The final speaker

on the morning program, Mrs. Sara D. Boyce of St. Paul, described the relation between "Minnesota Census Records and Old Age Assistance." Since last April Mrs. Boyce has been employed by the old age assistance department to locate the names of applicants in the manuscript census schedules preserved by the Minnesota Historical Society. The record of age in the census is accepted by the department in cases where the eligibility of an applicant is open to question. In the course of her work Mrs. Boyce has searched for more than seven thousand names and has successfully located some four thousand.

The general discussion which followed the formal program was opened by Mr. Johnshoy, who told something about the work of the Pope County Historical Society and its co-operation with the WPA. He distributed among members of the audience copies of a questionnaire used by workers engaged in a survey of Pope County schools, and he announced that records had been assembled for sixty out of the eighty-three school districts in the county, and the archives of more than forty turned over to the society for preservation. Similar surveys of health work, medical practice, nursing, and hospitals in the county are under way, according to Mr. Johnshoy. Upon the conclusion of his remarks, Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, rose to call attention to the fact that the forty-nine local historical organizations shown on the map presented by Mr. Babcock had come into being since 1922, that "substantially our county historical movement is a thing of the last fifteen years." He mentioned the section devoted to "Local Historical Societies" that is now appearing regularly in MINNESOTA HISTORY and he suggested the possibility of "some kind of bulletin of notes and information about local work." Among local leaders who spoke were Mr. Martin Widsten of Bemidji, Miss Carter, and Judge Julius E. Haycraft of Fairmont. The advisability of preserving historical material in log cabins

was under discussion, and Judge Haycraft called attention to a log building which had served as the first post office in Watonwan County and was now preserved in Madelia. "It is hardly suitable for a permanent place for records and I think it is not so intended," he said. For that purpose the Watonwan County Historical Society uses a room in the courthouse.

The annual luncheon of the society, which was held at the St. Paul Athletic Club at 12:15 P.M., was attended by about a hundred and fifteen of its members and friends. It was followed by a program of talks and papers, with Senator Victor E. Lawson, editor of the *Willmar Tribune*, presiding. The first speaker, Mr. Edward C. Gale of Minneapolis, president of the society, announced as his subject "My Father's Diary, 1858-65." Many intimate glimpses of life and conditions in frontier Minneapolis were revealed in the extracts from this journal read by Mr. Gale, for his father, Samuel C. Gale, settled in the pioneer community in the summer of 1857 and for many years kept a detailed record of events there. An idea of the effect of the panic of 1857, for example, is given in the entry for July 25, 1858, which reads: "Times here are exceedingly hard. Very little business is done except by 'dicker.'" It was not until the spring of 1858 that the diarist, after commenting upon the increase in immigration, remarked: "I think our people are feeling a little more hopeful." The slavery issue received considerable attention. On July 30, 1860, Gale recorded that "some 15 or 20 slaves, servants of visitors" from the South were to be found at one local hotel. "One escaped from his mistress last week," he records, "but was caught and smuggled off down to slave land—all contrary to our law, of course. Our policy touching these slaves is to let them alone but if they of their own will once seek and obtain their liberty and desire to keep it not the powers of Hell even shall prevail to use us to help capture them." Records of Civil and Sioux war

battles are frequently encountered in the entries for the early sixties. In the fall of 1862 the diarist noted that "white settlers throughout the State are in a panic. Even in Hennepin County nearly half the settlers have left their homes and rushed to Minneapolis and beyond . . . yet I cannot learn that an Indian has been seen within ninety miles of this town."

"Old Fort Ridgely as Revealed by the Spade" was the subject discussed by the next speaker, Mr. G. Hubert Smith of Minneapolis, who was in charge of excavations on the site of this Minnesota Valley fort made late in the fall by the Minnesota Historical Society in co-operation with the Minnesota state park division of the National Park Service. "Work at Fort Ridgely was greatly facilitated," said Mr. Smith, because "information on the general location of buildings, their various construction, and, in several cases, even their original appearance was available." He told of discovering the foundation lines of the more important buildings that once constituted the fort, including the barracks, the commissary, three officers' quarters, the surgeon's quarters, a bake house, and a hospital. Brick fireplaces, chimney bases, and doorways were located, and hundreds of objects that were lost or discarded before the fort was abandoned in 1872 were found, the speaker reported. He announced that plans are being made to place guard rails around the foundation walls and cellars when the excavations have been completed, to landscape the site, and to preserve it as a state park.

In explaining how "A Novelist Looks at History," Mrs. Darragh Aldrich of Minneapolis, the final speaker on the program, declared that "if the novelist has done his work well, he has produced a story that may have no foundation whatever in fact but reflects truth even more accurately than history." Mrs. Aldrich, who is a well-known writer of fiction, admitted, however, that the modern novelist "draws the very breath of his life from history," that "in

order to find any significance in the present he must study the past." In concluding her talk she announced that "We who are Minnesota novelists are honestly trying to give true pictures of life here—past and present—pictures of significance and possibly distinction. And it is we who realize most clearly the infinite value of the work of the Minnesota Historical Society. Without its 'facts,' we should be unable to present Truth." Mrs. Aldrich's interesting talk was the fifth in a series of professional and business people's views of history discussed before the society. Since 1933, when the series was inaugurated, a judge, a business man, a journalist, a doctor, and now a novelist have presented their reactions to the subject.

The president of the society, Mr. Gale, called the afternoon session to order at 3:00 P.M. in the Historical Building. About fifty people were present. After the reading of annual reports by the treasurer of the society, Mr. Everett H. Bailey of St. Paul, and by the superintendent, Mr. Blegen, a letter from Mr. Charles Stees, a member of the society's executive council, was presented to the audience. "It has been a pleasure to serve the Historical Society for over fifteen years as Auditor," wrote Mr. Stees, "and never to have found an error in the accounts of our Treasurer, Mr. Everett H. Bailey. The Society owes Mr. Bailey a vote of thanks for his long and faithful services." A rising vote in appreciation of Mr. Bailey's devoted service to the society followed.

Two historical papers were read after the close of the business session. The first, presented by Miss Gertrude W. Ackermann, assistant curator of manuscripts for the society, dealt with the career of a picturesque figure in early Minnesota—"George W. Northrup, Frontier Scout." She drew upon a collection of Northrup's letters in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society for the story of this venturesome youth, who left his home in New York state in 1853 and went to Minnesota and the

West. There he worked for a St. Paul fur trader, taught in a mission school at Pembina, hunted buffaloes on the plains, served as government farmer for the Indians at Yellow Medicine, joined the Union army for Civil War service, went to the upper Missouri with Brackett's Battalion, and, when he was but twenty-seven years of age, met his death in a battle with the hostile Sioux. Miss Ackermann's paper will be published in a future issue of MINNESOTA HISTORY. In the present issue appears the second paper presented at this session—"A Footnote on Fire Steels" by Milo M. Quaife, secretary and editor of the Burton Historical Collection at Detroit, Michigan. In Dr. Quaife's absence, his paper was read by Mr. Babcock.

The closing session, held in the evening at the Historical Building with an audience of approximately a hundred people present, was marked by a challenging and timely annual address. Dean Guy Stanton Ford occupied the chair and introduced the speaker, Dr. Robert C. Binkley, professor of history in Western Reserve University and chairman of the joint committee on materials for research. Dr. Binkley grappled with a big theme, "History for a Democracy," and in his treatment of it he ranged over broad fields of history in a probing, questioning, appraising, and distinctly modern spirit. The discussion came to a head in his analysis of the potential role of family and local history in American democracy and in his conclusions with reference to new ways of making historical narratives of limited appeal available at nominal prices to those interested. The address goes to a wider audience through its publication in full in the present issue of this magazine.

After the conclusion of Professor Binkley's discussion many members of the audience lingered in the museum rooms to view the society's varied exhibits. Ten miniature historical groups made by WPA artists aroused much interest, as did a collection of objects unearthed during the recent excavations carried on at the site of Fort Ridgely.



## SOME SOURCES FOR NORTHWEST HISTORY

### SWEDISH IMMIGRATION MATERIAL

The vigilance of the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society has recently brought rich rewards in the form of accessions to the collection pertaining to the history of immigration. The greatest number of additions fall within the field of emigration from Sweden and may be classified as follows: first, narratives written by immigrants themselves; second, books written by Swedish travelers in the United States and Canada; third, fiction and poetry about Swedish America and Swedish Americans; fourth, emigrant guides; fifth, anti-emigration propaganda; and sixth, works based on intensive research.

Among the narratives of immigrants is *Bland de våra därute: Några blad ur en f. d. immigrantprästs dagbok* ("Among Our People Out There: A Few Pages from the Diary of a Former Immigrant Pastor") by Carl Andeer (Stockholm, 1935. 181 p.), the work of a pastor in the church of Sweden, who in the early years of the present century was in charge of an immigrant home in Boston. He is the author of two volumes entitled *Augustana-folk* (Rock Island, 1911, 1914) in which he portrays the life and activity of Augustana Synod people in stories and sketches. *Hårda år: En emigrants öden och upplevelser i dollarlandet* ("Hard Years: The Lot and Experiences of an Emigrant in Dollar Land") by Axel Andersson (Second edition. Skellefteå, 1929. 198 p.) purports to be a true story told by an immigrant; it breathes hostility to the United States. *Amerikaminnen: Upplevelser och iakttagelser från en 6-årig vistelse i U. S. A.* ("Recollections of America: Experiences and Observations from a Residence of Six Years in the United States") by Evelina Mansson

(Hvetlanda, 1930. 109 p.) consists of the reminiscences of an immigrant who was employed in several capacities in Hector and Minneapolis. The author tells her story with good humor and without conscious effort to propagandize. There are many familiar pictures and incidents pertaining to Minneapolis, and the volume includes twenty illustrations. *Ur en emigrants antenckingsbok: Några sanningar om Amerika* ("From an Emigrant's Notebook: Some Truths about America") by Vilhålm Nordin (Stockholm, 1902. 56 p.) is hostile to the United States and is intended to show that immigrants did not profit by going to the "dollar land." *Det förlovade landet?* ("The Promised Land?") by Gustaf Strindberg (Stockholm, 1931. 199 p.) relates the experiences of an embittered immigrant, who, after working in Chicago, went "out west" and later served in the American army during the World War. *Ur frihetslandets järnkäftar: En svensk emigrants erfarenheter i U. S. A.* ("Out of the Iron Jaws of the Land of Freedom: Experiences of a Swedish Emigrant in the United States") by Henry von Kraemer (Stockholm, 1914. 207 p.) is an example of the anti-emigration books published in Sweden some twenty years ago. This returned emigrant discourses on the dullness of life for workers in the United States, on unattractive living conditions, and on savage labor conflicts, such as the Homestead strike.

The travel books include *Scener i Nord-Amerika ur en svensk resandes minnes-bok* ("Scenes in North America from the Diary of a Swedish Traveler") by C. D. Arfwedson, a well-known author (Stockholm, 1836. 256 p.). He wrote an earlier book on the United States and Canada (Stockholm, 1835). *Svenska nationaliteten i Förenta Staterna, deras sociala och kyrkliga förhållanden, hemlif och ekonomiska ställning: Reproduction af korrespondenser till Sydsvenska dagbl. snällposten* ("The Swedish Nationality in the United States with Reference to Social and Religious Conditions, Home Life, and Economic Situation") by Tan-

cred Boissy (Gothenburg, 1882. 56 p.) is a brief and on the whole accurate sketch of conditions in Swedish America, with a chapter on the Swedish-American press. *Bland Svenskar och Yankees* ("Among Swedes and Yankees") by Hj. Cassel (Stockholm, 1894. 196 p.) is an interesting account of a visit to St. Paul and of the political activity of the Swedes, including the history of the publication of *Amerikanska dagbladet* (St. Paul), the only Swedish daily ever published in the United States. *Canada: Skisser och glimtar från en resa* ("Canada: Sketches and Glimpses from a Journey") by Georg L. Dahlin, who is J. L. Kassel (Stockholm, 1929. 191 p.) contains references to the Swedes in Canada. *Från Stockholm till Stilla Oceanen: Intryck och iakttagelser under resor i Nordamerikas Föränta Stater från Newyorks frihets-staty till San Franciscos gyllene port* ("From Stockholm to the Pacific Ocean. Impressions and Observations during Travels in the United States from the Statue of Liberty in New York to San Francisco's Golden Gate") by Hj. Danielson (Stockholm, 1928. 172 p.) relates the impressions of a delegate to the Fourth Baptist World Conference in Toronto. He is especially interested in the Swedish Baptists in Minnesota. *Svensken, Svensk-amerikanaren och Amerikanen* ("The Swede, the Swedish American, and the American") by Agnes E. Hammarberg (Uppsala, 1928. 70 p.) makes comparisons and contrasts. *I fjärran nordväst: Jaktstråtar i Kanada* ("In the Remote Northwest: Hunting Trails in Canada") by A. Lilius (Helsingfors, 1912. 160 p.) is written by a member of the Canadian government survey party in British Columbia in the summer of 1911. *Det stora landet i väster: Glimtar från natur och folkliv i Amerikas Föränta Stater* ("The Great Land in the West: Glimpses of Nature and Customs in the United States") by Hj. Rangman with ninety-two illustrations (Uppsala, 1931. 227 p.) records observations on Americans and Swedish Americans and includes a chapter on the relations between Swedish Amer-

icans and Sweden. The author visited the Twin Cities. *Skandinaviska national föreningen i Winnipeg: Skandinaverna i Manitoba och nordvästern Canada* ("The Scandinavian National Society in Winnipeg: Scandinavians in Manitoba and Northwestern Canada") is valuable because it was published at an early date (Winnipeg, 1887. 20 p.).

Hilma Angered Strandberg's *På prärien* ("On the Prairie") (Stockholm, 1898. 224 p.) and *Den nya världen* ("The New World") (Stockholm, 1917. 302 p.) are novels portraying life in Swedish-American middle-western communities. The latter was first published in 1898 and sets forth the influence of the "America letters." The author is very caustic. *De unga utvandrarne, eller resa till och äfventyr i Nya Verlden* ("The Young Immigrants, or a Journey to, and Adventures in, the New World") is one of many "adventure stories" (Stockholm, 1866. 58 p.). *Stjärnbanerets land* ("The Land of the Star Spangled Banner") by Ernst Lindblom (Stockholm, 1910. 110 p.) and *Minnen från Nord-Amerika I. Dikt och prosa* ("Reminiscences of North America. Poetry and Prose") by O. Morris Molander (Gothenburg, 1905. 232 p.) are collections of poems and stories. *Utvandrare* ("Emigrants") by J. L. Stockenström (Stockholm, 1907. 175 p.) contains a story about the Eric-Jansonists. *Nya utvandrarehistorier* ("New Stories about Emigrants") by Konni Zilliacus (Helsingfors, 1897. 261 p.) is the author's second volume of stories about Finnish immigrants. In the late eighties the author was on the staff of *Svenska tribunen* of Chicago.

Among the emigrant guides may be classed *Nybyggerne i Nordamerika, deras öden och utsigter: En teckning efter naturen; af en Engelsman, jemte engelska omdömen och betraktelser, föranledda deraf* ("Pioneers in North America, Their Lot and Prospects: A Sketch from Nature, together with Conclusions and Reflections, by an English-

man") by M. Birbeck (Stockholm, 1818. 40 p.), a translation of an article in the *Edinburgh Review* for June, 1818. The translator states that the pamphlet was published apropos of conflicting reports that had come to Europe about immigrants in the United States. *Handbok för emigranter af alla klasser och stånd till Förenta Staterne i Nord-Amerika: Utarbetad hufvudsakligast efter andra upplagan af T. Brommes "Reise-Handbuch für Auswanderer nach Amerika"* ("Manual for Immigrants to the United States, of All Classes and Stations. Based Chiefly on the Second Edition of T. Bromme's 'Manual for Immigrants to the United States'") probably by P. G. Ågren (Jönköping, 1844. 84 p.) is one of the earliest emigrant guides. The contents are divided as follows: first, Who should emigrate? second, What arrangements ought to be made? and third, What should an emigrant beware of? *Beskrifning öfwer Amerika, med serskilt afseende på den skandinaviske emigrationen* ("An Account of North America, with Special Reference to Scandinavian Emigration") by Alex Nilsson (Gothenburg, 1872. 95 p.) is a typical emigrant guide, with a chapter on the causes of emigration. Despite his official position as district judge, the author is hard on the Swedish government—its class distinctions, snobbery, antiquated laws, and unequal taxes. He says that the United States has set an example for the world. *Emigrantens vän: Hjelpreda för den swenske utvandranden af hwarje klass, efter fyra års resor och studier i Förenta Staterna* ("The Emigrant's Friend: A Guide for the Swedish Emigrant of Every Class, Based on Four Years of Travel and Study in the United States") by Hugo Nisbeth (Stockholm, 1881. 132, 89 p.) gives information about routes of travel, employment, available land, emigration regulations of the Swedish government, together with a historical sketch of the United States, a translation of the Constitution, lessons in English, pictures of presidents, and a map of the United States. *Bref om Amerika till hemmavarande*

*landsmän* ("Letters about America Addressed to Swedes at Home") by Carl G. Svalander (Gothenburg, 1854, 1855) consists of three letters bound in one volume. The author ran an emigration bureau in Gothenburg. The letters contain valuable material about the early history of the Swedes in America and a sketch of the famous quack, Doctor Roback. *Några korta underrättelser om Amerika, till upplysning och nytta för dem som ämna utflytta; samt Emigrant-föreningens stadgar och förslager för en tillämnad utflyttning år 1841* ("Some Brief Items about America, for the Information and Benefit of Prospective Emigrants; Together with By-laws of the Emigration Society and Proposals for a Contemplated Emigration in 1841") by Carl Axel A. Schéele (Stockholm, 1841. 56 p.) is a rare early emigrant guide. It includes a map. The first forty-one pages give a literal translation of Ole Rynning's *True Account of America*—headings and all. *Upplysningar till utvandrande till Amerika* ("Information for Immigrants to America") by Henning A. Taube (Stockholm, 1869. 48 p.) is an advertisement published by the Great European-American Emigration Land Company, of which the author was general superintendent in Stockholm. It has a plat of a proposed colony at St. Croix Falls, Wisconsin. *Minnesotas landtbruk, manufaktur, handelstillgångar och öfriga resurser* ("Minnesota's Agriculture, Manufacturing, Transportation, and Other Resources") published by the Minnesota board of emigration, H. H. Young, secretary (St. Paul, 1881. 64 p.), is a translation of one of several pamphlets published in the interest of attracting immigrants to Minnesota.

*Skall jag resa till Amerika? Kortfattad skildring af Förenta Staterna vid 20: de århundradets början* ("Shall I Migrate to America? A Brief Description of the United States at the Opening of the Twentieth Century") by G. Thyreen (Stockholm, 1911. 240 p.) is written by a keen and fair-minded lawyer who sought means of checking emi-

gration. His idea was to bring about in Sweden certain more or less socialistic and educational reforms which would make for personal freedom.

The following volumes by Gunnar Westin, a docent at the University of Uppsala, make substantial contributions in the field of the history of immigration: *George Scott och hans verksamhet i Sverige* ("George Scott and His Work in Sweden") (Stockholm, 1929. 685 p.); *George Scott och hans verksamhet i Sverige: Handlingar, tal och brev* ("George Scott and His Work in Sweden: Documents, Addresses, and Letters") (Stockholm, 1928. 401 p.); *Emigranterna och kyrkan: Brev från och till svenskar i Amerika 1849-1892* ("The Emigrants and the Church: Letters from and to Swedes in America, 1849-1892") (Stockholm, 1932. 612 p.); and *Ur den svenska folkväckelsens historia och tänkevärld* ("Pertaining to the Religious Awakening and Intellectual Renaissance in Sweden"). This series of volumes published in Stockholm beginning in 1930 contains letters pertaining to the religious awakening and growth of dissent in Sweden. All these volumes have valuable historical introductions and citations.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
MINNEAPOLIS

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Jay Cooke, Private Banker.* By HENRIETTA M. LARSON, associate in research in business history, graduate school of business administration, Harvard University. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1936. xvii, 512 p. Illustrations. \$5.00)

When Professor N. S. B. Gras left the Minnesota campus in 1927 to become the first professor of business history at Harvard, he took with him a number of his graduate students. That these local boys and girls have "made good" is as gratifying as it is unsurprising. Mr. Kenneth Porter led off the *Harvard Studies in Business History* with two massive volumes on *John Jacob Astor, Business Man*, and now Miss Larson scores the second touchdown for Minnesota with what I think we can regard as the definitive full-length portrait of Jay Cooke. She has based her study on tens of thousands of letters which passed between the banker and his partners or customers, on Cooke's memoirs, on the Northern Pacific archives, and on mountains of contemporary printed materials. The result is an exhaustive description of one of the most interesting figures in American financial history. It is done in clear, straightforward style, with sufficient recapitulation to jog the reader's memory and an excellent summary to weave all the threads into a compact fabric. Each chapter is divided into sections; some of these are general surveys of such subjects as private banking, railroad financing, security marketing, and the currency, and are therefore valuable descriptions of the stage on which Cooke played his part.

The only defects of the book are minor points of style. Some of the section headings are rather trite, for example, "Jay Cooke Has Faith in the Future." The same might be said of the character sketches, which certainly show no influence of the newer biographical technique; for instance, "Jay Cooke was of a sanguine nature; his robust and energetic physique, his lively imagination, his warm and hopeful spirit, buoyed up by a childlike faith in God, all tended to give him a positive outlook." Some colloquialisms or localisms have slipped in — "It was not long till it was seen that." The imagery



gets a bit mixed when fine writing is attempted — "the success of the North made the money bags of London and the Rhine cities look with interest toward the United States." Details are overdone in places, and I wish we could get editors to agree to enforce the use of round numbers; why, for instance, bother to be so precise as to announce the purchase of 44,334.09 acres of land for \$37,143.70? Finally, the relegation of references and notes alike to sixty-two pages at the end of the text is most unsatisfactory for the reader. Pile the references to sources in a penultimate heap, if you wish; but let notes which supplement the text and references to later parts of the book be placed at the foot of the page. If this adds to the printing costs, dispense with gilt on the top edge of the volume.

The book will appeal to many kinds of historians. To the purely political student, the account of public financing during and after the Civil War and of the relations between the bankers and the treasury will be welcome. To the economic historian the picture of the private banker's part in facilitating the payment of commercial debts, in overcoming the difficulties caused by the lack of a uniform paper currency, and in raising the vast sums of long term credit needed by the railroads is simply invaluable. War and railroads have been the two great modern consumers of big sums of capital; to meet their needs subscriptions have had to be drawn from big and little purses alike, and this task has called for a newish type of middleman, the investment banker. Only slowly is the importance of this work, done by the Medicis, Fuggers, Rothschilds, Barings, Drexels, Morgans, etc., coming to be understood; but here in the case of Cooke we have a clear picture of the need and of the methods pursued to meet it. I suspect that students of American economic history find the parts dealing with banking, currency, and finance unspeakably dull, partly because they do not see what all the fuss or trouble is about. Miss Larson helps to make the subject live and the problems real; and many sections of her work will become "required reading" in at least one university.

But to readers of MINNESOTA HISTORY the most valuable part of the book will be the chapters (16-20) describing Cooke's unhappy connection with the Northern Pacific Railroad. Inclination and necessity tied Cooke to northern Minnesota. Inclination came from the fact that he was a son of the frontier, and had an unbounded faith

in the future of the Middle West. Necessity drove him to seek a new field of enterprise when the Civil War financing ended. In raising loans for the government his business had grown to giant stature, but after 1865 the trade in "governments" fell off. He must either retrench or find another outlet for his energies, and when the promoters of the Northern Pacific knocked, for the fourth time, at his door in 1869, he said "Come in." When they left, Cooke had agreed to be their sole agent for the sale of a hundred million dollars worth of bonds, their purchasing agent for iron and other supplies, and their banker. He had pledged himself to sell five million dollars worth of bonds at once, and to allow the railroad a standing overdraft of five hundred thousand dollars. He had committed himself to financing "the biggest single business enterprise that had up to that time been undertaken in the United States."

His partners disliked, or even opposed, his decision; but his "booster" belief, his "success complex," his conviction that he could control the railroad executives, and his hope of great reward lured him on. If only he had known the limerick about the tiger and the lady of Niger! In June, 1873, the track reached from Duluth to Bismarck on the Missouri; in the following September Cooke was declared bankrupt. Why the failure? Miss Larson answers the question with overwhelming effectiveness. Other bankers, both in America and in Europe, were cool toward the vast bond issue, and Cooke's high-pressure sales methods which had popularized the Civil War bonds failed now, in the absence of a patriotic appeal or of a certainty of speedy returns from railroad earnings. The money from bond sales dribbled in very slowly, as did that from land sales. Meanwhile the railroad engineers and officials wanted ever more cash, and the overdraft went far beyond the original limit. Cooke might have tried to restrain and discipline the promoters, and his partners urged him to drop them; but his interests in the Northern Pacific, plus his investments in northwestern land and other properties, "forced him to advance step by step until he had become so enmeshed" that he could not withdraw. Unfortunately, he had failed to build up an adequate capital, and had to rely largely on deposits placed by customers in his bank for working capital. Yet, instead of keeping these deposits fluid, he tied them up in his investments. Hence, when the money market tightened and business slowed down

when the near panic of 1872 became the real one of 1873 disaster was unavoidable.

Cooke failed, but the project which wrecked him was eventually a success, and some of his dreams about the Northwest came true. American history, since the days when London merchants set out to make profits by financing the foundation of Virginia, is full of similar stories. The pioneer, who sweated and suffered hardship and defeat on the frontier, has been abundantly extolled. But the man who risked the funds which made the frontier possible is usually forgotten, or execrated. Since he so often lost, he deserves at least a tear and a kind word.

HERBERT HEATON

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
MINNEAPOLIS

*The Social History of American Agriculture.* By JOSEPH SCHAFER.  
(New York, The Macmillan Company, 1936. ix, 302 p.  
Maps. \$2.50.)

In 1935-36 Dr. Schafer delivered a series of lectures at the University of London, devoted to the evolution of American agriculture. With some alterations and additions, these lectures are reproduced in the present volume. Each of the eight essays or chapters is self-sufficient, yet taken together they achieve noticeable unity. The subjects discussed include the acquisition and distribution of land for agriculture; frontier subsistence farming; large-scale operations, such as bonanza wheat culture in the Northwest; improvement of agricultural methods; professional farming; analysis of social and political trends; and the outlook for farmers, based on events since 1900, emphasizing such phenomena as the motorization of rural regions, the share cropper, and recent attempts to improve agricultural conditions. The maps are well selected and add to the value of the narrative. The style is eminently readable and the volume as a whole stimulating and suggestive in thought.

The choice of the title is unfortunate and would more accurately represent the content if it were amended to read "Notes or Suggestions on the History of American Agriculture." The author's statement in the preface that the book is a comprehensive survey of the subject is not borne out by the text. In the first place the volume is

entirely too brief. Many topics are treated in summary fashion and others of equal importance are omitted. Certainly truck gardening, hemp culture, turpentine farming, potato farming in Maine and the western states, beet sugar production, and the raising of poultry should be included in "Big Business Farming," as well as commented upon in the chapters on "Improved Farming" and "Professional Farming." Adequate discussion, or consideration, of the different types of fruit growing in various sections of the country, of soil erosion, forest conservation, flood control, draining and reclamation projects, irrigated farming, rural architecture, and electrification in country regions are conspicuous by their absence. Except for comment upon early colonial contacts in New England and Virginia, the varied aspects of Indian agriculture from coast to coast, and its contributions to white civilization, are ignored. The agriculture of the French in the Mississippi Valley, of the Spanish in Florida and the lower Mississippi, and of the Spanish and Mexicans in Texas, the Southwest, and California, with their respective land systems and the evolution which took place when the English and Americans established political dominance over the areas mentioned, are either lightly passed over or entirely omitted. All the above, and the list could be enlarged, are pertinent to the general subject in a social as well as an economic sense.

According to the accepted meaning of the word "social" too little attention is paid to this phase of agricultural development to warrant the inclusion of the term in the title. Incidentally, one looks in vain for any description of the habits, customs, and amusements of such distinctive rural types as the Florida cracker, the piney woodsmen of the Carolinas, the respective mountaineers of the Blue Ridge, the Alleghenies, and the Ozarks, and the different types not only of southern planters from Virginia to Texas, but of northern and southern farmers and of fruit culturists.

Dr. Schafer has given us an interesting and worth-while discussion of many of the topics which he has considered, but the present title and the expressed intent of the preface leave the text open to valid criticism.

HERBERT A. KELLAR

MCCORMICK HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION  
CHICAGO

*The Honourable Company: A History of the Hudson's Bay Company.* By DOUGLAS MACKAY. (Indianapolis, New York, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1936. xii, 396 p. Maps, illustrations. \$3.75.)

The author of this work is the editor of the *Beaver*, the excellent magazine published quarterly by the Hudson's Bay Company in Winnipeg. Working for the company by day has influenced his probing into its past by night, not by casting shadows over his historical judgment but by rousing and sustaining his enthusiasm for his subject. As he remarks in his foreword, the reader will here find more frank criticism of the Hudson's Bay Company than in the works of many outsiders. At the same time, he has been able to write with the understanding and feeling of one within the service. This should not be mistaken for an official history nor for an attempt at a definitive account. The author has not had access to materials beyond the reach of other students, and he wisely states that a lifetime of work remains to be done before a final history can be written. It is an interesting popular history carried down to the present day, and it is the first to appear since the company opened its archives. It makes Beckles Willson's history appear thin, and it gives more reliable information than the more comprehensive book by the late George Bryce. Unlike the latter, Mr. MacKay has not tried to incorporate the early history of Manitoba. He sticks to his subject.

There is not a little to criticize in this attractive journalistic account. It is sprinkled with inaccuracies of detail. Some of these may be due to careless proofreading. Kirke's capture of Quebec in 1629 is put in 1608; La Vérendrye's 1731 journey is misplaced by a year; McTavish's combination of 1783 is referred to as made in 1793; the order of the names successively applied to the X Y Company is twisted; the account of Thomas Simpson's arctic explorations is confused by the substitution of "westward" for "eastward"; and the dates for the beginning and the end of Lord John Russell's first premiership are both wrong. But the printer cannot be blamed for the surprising statement that Hearne, when attacked in 1782, knew nothing of war in Europe, nor the false knighting of John Caldwell, nor the emergence of the Northwest Company as a power in 1776, nor the placing of Fort Edmonton on the top of a cliff two hundred feet high. Here and there, a looseness of language misleads. Pink's report of

James Finlay on the Saskatchewan was dated 1769, but the unwary reader may suppose it to have been three years earlier. "When Hearne built Cumberland House in 1774 near The Pas, the rival traders had already been established there for six years." Where is "there"? It was neither Cumberland House nor The Pas. The reference to the transaction of 1849 is so vaguely worded that the uninformed may not even guess that the British government then invested the company with the ownership of Vancouver Island. Nor is it true to say that "the cabinet at Ottawa, startled by the unexpected insurrection, postponed the official transfer until July 15, 1870."

More serious are the defects arising from the fact that the author is not a trained scholar. As a journalist, he might have added interest and cohesion to his story by introducing the elder Gillam and his "Nonsuch" where the brothers-in-law already knew them—in Boston. Having neglected this opportunity, he may puzzle some readers by mentioning New Englanders under the younger Gillam in Hudson Bay. He has also missed the rather important early connection between the St. Lawrence and Hudson Bay, suggested by Radisson's marriage into the family that had seized the French fur trade at Tadoussac in 1628 and Quebec in the following year. Indeed, he has largely ignored a number of the broader aspects of his subject. Though familiar with the fundamental work of Professor Innis, he has not drawn upon it as he might have done to bring out the effect of geography upon the history of the fur trade. He gives little evidence of having seen that there was continuous competition between the Hudson Bay and the St. Lawrence for a century and a half after the founding of his company. He scarcely mentions the food problem, which underlies much of the story. It tied the prairie, which was poor in furs, to the forest belt where furs abounded. It was a consideration in the huge grant of land to Selkirk, and it inspired the desperate fight of the Northwest Company. With a wider knowledge, the author might have illuminated the dark struggle between the two great companies, revealing it as a chapter in the history of modern imperialism and its clashings. He might have done much more to explain the continental marathon, why the Northwest Company won the race and yet lost the prize. He says not a word about the opening of the St. Paul cart trail, which broke the company's trading monopoly and undermined its power of government on the

prairie, and he makes only a passing reference to the Fraser gold rush without observing that it produced the same results much more swiftly on the Pacific coast. In short, the serious student will find this book lacking in solidity, breadth, and penetration. He will, however, be very grateful for the valuable statement of earnings and capital structure to be found in the appendixes.

Here criticism should end, for the author has not pretended to do more than present a revised popular history, and the general reader will find it both interesting and profitable. The best part of the book is that which deals with what the author evidently regards as the best period of the company's history, that from the union of 1821 to the change of ownership in 1863. Those were the years of the finest morale, when the proprietors shared their profits with the chief factors and traders, and when Sir George Simpson, the greatest man ever in charge of the company's affairs in North America, ruled as "the little emperor." The chapters devoted to him are really devoted. Another chapter deserving special recommendation is that entitled "Spirits," for there has been a lot of malicious nonsense talked about the company's use of alcohol in trade with the Indians. Taken as a whole, the long record of the company is eminently honorable, perhaps more so than any other commercial organization of modern times. It has been a kind and wise father to generations of red men, and therefore it is not surprising that, though the author does not even suggest it, many of their descendants today regard the governor of the company as a sort of younger brother of the deity.

A. L. BURT

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
MINNEAPOLIS

*Minnesota, Its History and Its People: A Study Outline with Topics and References.* By THEODORE C. BLEGEN, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society. With the assistance of LEWIS BEESON. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1937. viii, 237 p. \$1.75.)

Tourists to the number of 2,652,000 visited Minnesota last year. That is the official estimate. Each of these tourists, according to unofficial estimates, asked at least a thousand questions about features of the landscape. Most of us think the number of questions was much greater than this, but for the moment we can accept the more

conservative figure. That would mean about a thousand questions for every man, woman, and child in the state. Usually, however, the visitors picked on adults for the answers. This means that every adult was exposed to at least two thousand questions, some being exposed to many times that number. Of these questions probably only half received any answer at all, and of this half probably not more than fifty per cent were answered correctly. The record for the adults of the state in this matter last year, therefore, was 825,000,000 questions not answered and 412,500,000 questions answered incorrectly. When we think of the embarrassment and chagrin which each of these contacts involves, the sum total is staggering. Obviously, if we are to remain a tourist state our record must be greatly changed.

Of course, we can explain much of our failure. Living here all our lives and seeing these objects of interest every day we have become insensitive to them. That is according to the psychologists the law of negative adaptation. But the visitor is not insensitive to them. He wants to know what and how and why. As hosts, as persons who have lived here all our lives, and as persons professing ordinary intelligence, we protrude our chests and start to answer the questions. Then comes the embarrassment. We discover that for many of the questions we never did know the answers, for many others we have forgotten the answers. Worse than that for our pride as persons of ordinary intelligence, we too often discover that we not only do not know the answer, but we do not even know where to find out the answer. If this continues, our visitors cannot be blamed if they ascribe the ruddiness of our complexions less to the climate and more to a chronic blushing at the consciousness of our ignorance of our own state.

Fortunately for the personal relief of all of us and the greater satisfaction of our guests, this deplorable condition need no longer continue. The work under review enables every one of us to find the answers to most of the questions asked. In this convenient, compact little volume, is an analytical list of books and articles relating to nearly every phase of Minnesota history and activity. The mere possession of the book itself will enable us to tell the visitor where he may most conveniently learn the answer to his question. And if we use the book in our leisure hours during the winter, we can learn the answers ourselves and thus be ready for even the most inquisitive



visitor. Thus we may establish a national reputation not only for ordinary intelligence, but for something quite a bit better than that. At any rate we can recover our self-esteem and extend a somewhat better quality of hospitality to our visitors than we have been doing.

How comprehensively helpful this little book may be is only slightly indicated by the title. To the average layman history might mean only Indians and pioneers. Both Indians and pioneers are amply recognized, but so too are industry, transportation, religion, social customs, politics, agriculture, education, banking. So too are music and art and literature. There is almost no activity of any considerable importance to the people of Minnesota which has been omitted. Even organized sport is included. All these activities are considered not only in past times, but are brought right up to date, with a list of recent books, articles in periodicals, or newspapers in which those activities are described and explained. It provides the means of answering the what and who, the how and why questions.

Every secretary of a chamber of commerce in the state should have this work on his desk. He will probably want to have a copy for every tourist bureau under his direction as well. Since he probably will not read this review, perhaps you should call this to his attention.

The teacher, especially the teacher of history, is the most efficient agent for the transmission of this knowledge, and the author has had the teacher clearly in mind throughout the work. The whole work is analyzed into topics. Each topic has an outline of main points and also a suggestive list of questions as well as a rich list of references for almost every item in the outline. Here is the means by which every teacher can achieve that miracle of vitalizing his instruction. Here he can find some activity of the pupil's own neighborhood, of his parents and grandparents, similar to, or even related to, any activity of importance elsewhere in the world or in the past. There is no longer any reason why pupils cannot be made to see that the work of the history or social studies classroom is as real as life itself. Every school, elementary as well as high school, should have at least one copy available for the teachers.

The "key to the past and present of the life of Minnesota" might well have been the subtitle of this book. A brief but illuminating introduction surveys the history of the state. A critical bibliography of the larger works follows. Then comes the detailed outline of the varied activities of our society from the state's beginnings to the pres-

ent. Each topic is outlined into its main points and each point is provided with bibliographical references derived not only from books but from the much more fugitive sources of periodical and newspaper articles. It is customary in a review to indicate errors. There may be errors in this work; and some persons might, like the reviewer, be ungracious enough to desire even more material, since the author has opened up so many hitherto untrodden paths in our history. But when, as in the present instance, a work affords the people of one state so much more insight into their own life and history than is afforded the people of any other state in the nation, there is no room for criticism.

The editor of this magazine is going to be subjected to some embarrassment in accepting a review as long as this about a work of less than three hundred pages as well as about a work of which he himself is the author. But since he has chosen to give the people of the state a more nearly complete guide to its life and history than is the fortune of any other state, he must accept the embarrassment. Even so this review indicates but inadequately the comprehensive value of this work. As one who has been the target of many questions from tourists I can only express my great gratitude. With one copy of this work at home and another in my office I can now view the opening of another tourist season with some assurance.

AUGUST C. KREY

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
MINNEAPOLIS

*Voyage dans l'intérieur des Etats-Unis et au Canada.* By LE COMTE DE COLBERT MAULEVRIER. With an introduction and notes by GILBERT CHINARD. (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1935. xxiii, 87 p. Illustrations. \$2.75.)

The name Colbert is more closely associated with French Canada than with other parts of North America, but to one individual of that name Pennsylvania and New York owe a delightful travel narrative of the late eighteenth century, as well as several charming sketches. Edouard-Charles-Victorien Colbert, better known as the Count Colbert Maulevrier, visited the United States first as a participant in the naval campaigns of the latter part of the American Revolution, and later, about the year 1796, as an *émigré* from revo-

lutionary France. The two travel narratives here published date from the year 1798.

The first expedition took Colbert along the Schuylkill to Reading, thence to Harrisburg on the Susquehanna River, and up that stream to its forks. At Sunbury he took the North Branch for a short distance; then he turned back, visited Carlisle, and made his way to Philadelphia. The second trip took him to Niagara Falls and down Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence to Montreal. His notes have value especially for those studying the colony of French *émigrés* at Azilum in Pennsylvania, the Holland Land Company, the settlement of the Genesee country in western New York, and the land speculations of Robert Morris both on the Pennsylvania and the New York frontiers.

At Montreal the traveler naturally has something to say about the fur trade, which may be translated, in part, as follows: "This trade is the moral and physical ruin of the youth of Lower Canada. It greatly injures agriculture. Besides its lure of profits, which induces young men to engage in it, it has become a matter of respectability to have been what they call 'voyageurs.' The girls will not marry those who court them until the latter have made a trip to the *pays d'en haut*." In this connection the count refers definitely to Lake Superior and Grand Portage and to the incidents and difficulties of the voyageur's life while en route thither.

Count Colbert Maulevrier returned to Philadelphia via Lakes Champlain and George. He returned to France soon afterward and died there in 1820.

GRACE LEE NUTE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL

*Population Trends in Minnesota* (Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletins*, no. 327). By R. W. MURCHIE and M. E. JARCHOW. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1936. 99 p. Maps, charts.)

The trends of Minnesota population discussed in this bulletin cover the first century of modern history in the Minnesota region, for it is noted that in the early eighteen twenties the influx of settlers was well under way. The very early settlers came from the north and settled around Fort Snelling. By 1860, however, the New Eng-

land, New York, Pennsylvania, and foreign elements in the population were large. By the turn of the century immigration was mainly from near-by states.

For sixty or seventy years immigration into the region was an important element in population growth. Since 1900, in contrast, the excess of native births over deaths has accounted for most of the increase. In fact, during the decade of the nineteen twenties a considerably greater number of people left the state than came into it, so that the net increase in population was less than the natural increase should have afforded. It appears that even if this outgoing migration had not occurred, or does not continue, the change in age distribution that has already taken place is such that population growth will be relatively slow in the future. Perhaps growth may cease entirely as early as 1950 unless new waves of net immigration are attracted.

The changes in population growth and density within the state appear to be associated with the wave-like developments of particular industries. First came pioneer agriculture; then, in rapid succession, flour milling, lumbering, mining, and, finally, miscellaneous urban industries have had important influence. By 1930 a very real problem seemed to have developed if population was to continue to increase or even to hold its own. The only possible solution of the problem appeared to lie in the finding of new opportunities for profitable employment. The bulletin under review makes no contribution directly to the solution, but it does state the situation in no uncertain terms. The bulletin follows, in the main, a conventional pattern in the discussion of changes in total population, in racial origins, inter-regional migrations, rural-urban distribution, age and sex distribution, marital status, and natural increase. In addition it discusses the questions of literacy and school attendance.

The study is thoroughly illustrated with maps and charts, and is supported by statistical tables. Although some of the maps are difficult to compare because they are printed on separate pages, the general presentation is good. The research that is summarized has evidently been carried out with Dr. Murchie's usual competence. Certainly the material presented and analyzed will prove invaluable to the student of the economic history of Minnesota.

ROLAND S. VAILE

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
MINNEAPOLIS

*Acta et Dicta: A Collection of Historical Data Regarding the Origin and Growth of the Catholic Church in the Province of St. Paul*, vol. 7, no. 2. (St. Paul, The Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, October, 1936. 281 p. \$1.00.)

The Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul presents in the fourth year of its rejuvenation a volume of six papers dealing with the Catholic history of the Province of St. Paul, which includes the dioceses of Minnesota and the two Dakotas.

Among the articles of interest appearing in this issue are a report on "John Shanley, Bishop of Fargo" by Sister Helen Angela Hurley and a paper on the "Coming of Bishop Grace" by the Reverend William Busch. The latter, though primarily a study of Minnesota's second bishop and of his episcopate, nevertheless gives a vivid picture of Minnesota life in the late fifties. This paper depicts the early struggle of the Catholic church in Minnesota and reveals many aspects of the character of the pioneer bishop who went to St. Paul in 1859. The paper written by Sister Helen Angela has for its subject also a pioneer bishop, but a bishop of a more western and later frontier. Both bishops faced the same problems of scarcity of helpers and funds, scattered flocks, and poor transportation. Two short papers, by Sisters Ardis Hartman and Leone Treacy, deal with "The First German Migration into Stearns County" and the "Industrial Activities of the Foreign Born in St. Cloud in 1860."

The most significant article in this issue is "Father Skolla's Report of His Indian Missions" among the Indians of the United States. This long report is translated from the Latin by the Reverend Thomas Shanahan. Dr. Grace Lee Nute in the introduction gives a brief sketch of the life of Father Skolla, and places him in his proper position in relation to the mission movement in general. The story which this missionary tells in the report of his life among the Indians of Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin is full of interesting incidents told, at times, in great detail. Particularly interesting are the minutiae of cooking while traveling through the wild country, the manner of setting up tents, and the discomforts and dangers experienced in traveling in small boats over such large bodies of water as Lake Superior. Though the good missionary goes to great pains to describe his method of instructing the native in the Christian faith, we learn nothing new, for he followed the methods practiced by the

Catholic missionaries in America for over a hundred years. Other topics of interest touched upon in this report are the withdrawal of soldiers from Mackinac Island for service in the Mexican War, temperance societies among the Indians, medicine dances, and attempts to carry out church services with some of the liturgical pomp found in the services of well-ordered parishes. Although this article is especially interesting to students of Catholic mission history, it should be of interest also to Minnesotans generally, for the missionaries played a large part in the education of the states' youth and in the opening up of the West to the early settler.

SISTER GRACE McDONALD

COLLEGE OF ST. BENEDICT  
ST. JOSEPH, MINNESOTA

## MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

Dr. Robert C. Binkley ("History for a Democracy") is professor of history in Western Reserve University at Cleveland and is the chairman of the joint committee on materials for research of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. His special field of research is modern European history and his latest book is an important study of *Realism and Nationalism, 1852-1871*. As chairman of the joint committee he has done much to forward American co-operative projects in historical work and has taken a very special interest in the advance of microphotography and the employment of new processes for reproducing historical materials. Mr. E. Fitch Pabody ("Mark Twain's Ghost Story") has lived in Minneapolis since 1875. For thirty-five years he was connected with the engineering department of the American Bridge Company. He has been a member of the Minnesota Historical Society since 1928. Dr. M. M. Quaife ("A Footnote on Fire Steels") is the secretary and editor of the Burton Historical Collection in the Detroit Public Library. Dr. George M. Stephenson ("Swedish Immigration Material"), a frequent contributor to this magazine, is the author of *John Lind of Minnesota* and other important historical works. Writers of book reviews include four members of the faculty of the University of Minnesota: Professor Herbert Heaton, widely known authority on economic history; Professor A. L. Burt, the author of the *Old Province of Quebec* and other important contributions to Canadian history; Professor A. C. Krey, who has recently made a contribution of major importance to American education as the chairman of the American Historical Association's commission on the social studies in the schools; and Professor Roland S. Vaile, the author of numerous special studies relating to marketing. Other reviewers are Dr. Herbert A. Kellar, the director of the McCormick Historical Association of Chicago and the editor of a newly published work on *Solon Robinson: Pioneer and Agriculturist*; and Sister Grace McDonald of St. Benedict's College.

Since the superintendent's report, published elsewhere in the present number of the magazine, surveys the activities of the society during 1936, including the last quarter of the year, only a few supplementary items are mentioned in the present section.

A former president of the society and a member of its present executive council, Dean Guy Stanton Ford of the graduate school of the University of Minnesota, was elected president of the American Historical Association at its annual meeting, which was held at Providence, Rhode Island, late in December.

A Red Cross flag made by Miss Theresa Ericksen while in the Philippines as a nurse with the famous "Thirteenth Minnesota" and carried overseas in the World War was presented to the society at a special ceremony held in the auditorium on November 16. Miss Ericksen, dressed in uniform and wearing her decorations, made a brief presentation, and the superintendent then accepted the flag on behalf of the society. Dr. Harry P. Ritchie, who served as assistant surgeon of the Thirteenth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, spoke briefly, recalling Miss Ericksen's services to the regiment and the deep respect and affection that she inspired among the soldiers. A considerable audience was present, including several veterans of the Thirteenth Minnesota.

Twenty-four additions to the active membership of the society were made during the quarter ending December 31. They include one life member, George P. Case, II, of Long Lake; and the following annual members: Georgiana Ames of North Easton, Massachusetts; Harold Benjamin of Minneapolis; Homer R. Blanchard of Lake City; Mrs. Olive Irene Bliss of St. Paul; Geneve Caldwell of Minneapolis; Austin Craig of Minneapolis; Elmer H. Dearth of Minneapolis; William H. Fallon of St. Paul; Walter A. Ferrell of Minneapolis; Mrs. V. C. Heseltine of Taylor's Falls; Charles A. Kalman of St. Paul; Reverend Theodore H. Leonard of St. Paul; Philip G. Orr of St. Paul; Harry Phinney of Morris; James W. Powles of St. Paul; William G. Reifler of St. Paul; Ole I. Steen of Worthington; Burton W. Thayer of St. Paul; Benjamin C. Thompson of St. Paul; Jesse Van Valkenburg of Minneapolis; William P. Westfall of St. Paul; Robert B. Whitacre of St. Paul; and Alvin P. Wold of Oakland, California.



The society lost fourteen active members by death during the last three months of 1936: Samuel R. Van Sant of Minneapolis, October 3; Charles E. Adams of Duluth, October 7; Mrs. Joseph G. Pyle of St. Paul, October 8; Dr. H. M. Workman of Tracy, October 8; Pierce L. Howe of Minneapolis, October 10; Victor Robertson of St. Paul, October 11; Levi M. Willcuts of Duluth, October 14; Henry B. Wenzell of Stillwater, October 23; Francis B. Tiffany of St. Paul, October 25; Lytton J. Shields of Dellwood, White Bear Lake, October 31; Amasa C. Paul, of Minneapolis, November 13; Mrs. John I. H. Field of St. Paul, November 14; Henry G. Stevens of Minneapolis, December 19; and Clarence H. Johnston of St. Paul, December 29.

"New England and Minnesota" was the subject of an address presented by the superintendent before the Colony of New England Women meeting in St. Paul on October 1. He spoke on "The Scope of Minnesota History" before the St. Paul chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution on October 13; and he discussed the possibilities of local historical activity before the Watonwan County Historical Society meeting at St. James on November 19. Mr. Babcock spoke on "Minnesota and the March of Time" before the brotherhood of St. John's Lutheran Church of Minneapolis on October 20, and he described the work of the society for the Alumnae Club of the University of Minnesota in St. Paul on November 21. Miss Nute presented talks on "Adventures in Research" before the College Women's Club of St. Paul on October 21, on "A Boyhood in Fort Snelling 110 Years Ago" before the Faculty Women's Club of the University of Minnesota on November 18, and on "Pioneer Women of the Northwest" before the Quota Club of Minneapolis on December 8. Miss Ackermann gave an illustrated talk on pioneer life at the Emmanuel Lutheran Church of St. Paul on November 12.

A paper presented by the superintendent before the conference of archivists at Chattanooga, Tennessee, on December 29, 1935, on *Problems of American Archivists* has been published by the National Archives as number 4 of its *Publications* and number 2 of its *Bulletins* (1936. 10 p.).

The WPA historical records survey, sponsored by the society and directed by Mr. Ralph D. Brown, is the subject of an illustrated feature article by Jack Keefe in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for November 29. Some of the manuscripts, documents, and objects located by the survey staff are described.

#### ACCESSIONS

A photostatic copy of David Thompson's diary for 1822, describing a part of his surveying expedition for the international boundary commission, has been made for the society from the original in the possession of the department of public records and archives of the province of Ontario at Toronto. Thompson tells of the abandoned condition of Grand Portage, which he had visited on several former occasions during the heyday of this great depot of the fur trade.

A diary kept in 1831 and 1832 by Jeremiah Porter at Sault Ste. Marie, where he was serving as a missionary, has been copied for the society by the photostatic process from the original in the Chicago Historical Society. Among the people mentioned by Porter are William T. Boutwell and Henry R. Schoolcraft.

Diaries kept by Gideon H. Pond in 1836 and 1837 and in 1854 are among the Pond Papers copied recently for the society through the courtesy of Mrs. George A. Pond of St. Paul, who obtained the originals from members of the Pond family. In the earlier diary Pond presents a record of events at the Lac qui Parle mission; in the later one he tells of a trip to the East and of his marriage to Mrs. Agnes Hopkins. Twenty-two letters written by Gideon Pond between 1839 and 1872 and one written from Lake Harriet by Samuel W. Pond also have been copied. Diaries kept by the latter's daughter Jennette at the Shakopee mission from 1850 to 1856 have been received from Mrs. Pond.

Calendar cards for the report books of the commissioner of Indian affairs from 1838 to 1885, recently completed by Dr. Newton D. Mereness, agent at Washington for several midwestern historical societies, reveal that these volumes contain a wealth of information about the Minnesota Indians, particularly after 1849. Reservations, missions, education, scrip, agents, and land problems are among the subjects touched upon. Cards for the letter books of the Indian

office for 1861, also received recently, indicate that at this time the fur trade was still a flourishing business in some parts of Minnesota.

Transcripts and calendar cards for items of Minnesota interest in the *Boston Daily Journal* and other eastern periodicals from 1854 to 1858, made recently for the society from files in the Boston Public Library, contain references to the Spirit Lake massacre, the Minnesota constitutional convention, the grasshopper plague, investments in Minnesota lands by southern politicians, fires in St. Paul, plans for forming colonies of New Englanders to settle in Minnesota, Paul Kane's paintings of Indian life, James Tanner's trip to the East with a delegation of Chippewa Indians, the settlement of the St. Croix Valley, and other subjects.

Nineteen volumes of records of the First Swedish Methodist Episcopal Church of St. Paul, covering the period from 1854 to 1923, have been presented through the courtesy of the Reverend H. P. Archerd of St. Paul. Included are minutes of meetings of the church council and of quarterly conferences, treasurers' accounts, a record of baptisms and marriages performed between 1860 and 1885, minutes of meetings of the Sunday school board from 1894 to 1903 and of the Ladies' Aid Society from 1904 to 1912, and the records of an insurance society organized for the protection of the buildings of Swedish Methodist churches in the northwestern states. Many of the records are written in Swedish.

Twelve filing boxes and nine volumes of archives of Brooklyn Township, Hennepin County, for the period from 1858 to 1932 have been received through the courtesy of the town clerk, Mr. Otto Setzler.

A typed copy of a volume of minutes of meetings of the town council of Oneota from 1859 to 1861 has been presented by the Duluth Public Library, which owns the original. Oneota was annexed to Duluth in 1889.

A volume of "Morning Reports" of Company B of the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry during the Civil War, giving the number and names of soldiers who were sick or detailed on extra duty and the movements of the company, has been presented by Mrs. Daisy Foster of Stillwater.

A filing box of papers collected by Judge William Lochren while he was preparing to write a history of the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry has been presented by his widow, Mrs. Mary E. Lochren of Minneapolis. The collection includes a roster of the regiment, a copy of a diary kept by Patrick and Isaac Taylor of Company E, biographical sketches of Willis A. Gorman and George N. Morgan, and a letter from Colonel William Colvill.

A diary kept by Dolson B. Searle in June and July, 1870, in which he describes a trip through Kansas and Minnesota in search of land for investment and a place to begin a law practice, is the gift of Mr. John B. Pattison of St. Cloud. Searle bought land near St. Cloud in 1870 and began to practice law there in 1871.

Minutes of meetings of the United Presbyterian Church of Glendale from 1871 to 1895, records of baptisms, and financial accounts are included in two small volumes presented by Mrs. George Thompson of Shakopee.

The history of the Park Congregational Church of St. Paul from 1883 to 1913, when it was merged with the Plymouth Church, is reflected in three filing boxes of papers and four volumes that have been presented by Mr. C. D. Risser of St. Paul. The collection includes reports of officers and societies, records of membership, and treasurers' accounts. A volume of minutes of meetings from 1886 to 1905 of the St. Paul Congregational Union forms a part of the gift. This organization was composed of representatives from the various Congregational churches in St. Paul and was interested in home mission work in outlying sections of the city.

Two volumes of minutes of the Merriam Park Presbyterian Church of St. Paul from 1884 to 1923 have been presented through the courtesy of Mr. Elmer D. Allen of St. Paul.

Seven volumes of minutes of meetings and treasurers' records of the Minnetonka lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows in the period from 1889 to 1924 have been presented by that organization through the courtesy of the secretary, Mr. Henry Beinert of Excelsior.

In a lengthy and detailed autobiography presented by Mr. Thomas Pederson of Mildred, the writer describes pioneer life in La

Crosse County, Wisconsin, in the sixties, his experiences as a lumberjack in northern Wisconsin and as a homesteader in North Dakota in 1887, his activities as a farmer and a storekeeper at Hendrum and Randall in the eighties and nineties, the forest fire of 1894 in Morrison County, and many other events connected with the history of northern Minnesota.

Many facts about the early history of St. Anthony and Minneapolis, the lumber business, and steamboating above the Falls of St. Anthony are given in a stenographic record of a case tried before the United States land office at St. Cloud in 1904, presented by Myrom D. Taylor of Berkeley, California, a former register of the St. Cloud office. The case involved William Burfening's title to an island formed in the Mississippi River near the falls. Among the witnesses were Daniel Stanchfield, Simon Stevens, Henry E. McAllister, George E. Fuller, Joel B. Bassett, and other lumbermen, steamboat pilots, and early residents of Minneapolis.

Records of five Ramsey County school districts have been received through the courtesy of Messrs. Theodore Walters, George H. Nelson, Robert Hansen, Verney Peterson, and Henry Speiser. Some of the clerks' records date back to the eighties, but most of the material, which includes treasurers' accounts and attendance registers, is for the period from 1900 to the present.

A volume of minutes of meetings from 1908 to 1923 of the Farmers Club of Meeker County and its successor, the Litchfield Livestock Shipping Association, has been received from Mr. John Brandt of Minneapolis.

Nine filing boxes of papers and printed literature of the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association have been presented by the Minnesota League of Women Voters of Minneapolis. Correspondence for the years 1915 to 1919, copies of bills introduced in the Minnesota legislature granting women the right to vote for presidential electors, and petitions and resolutions sent to Minnesota legislators and United States senators urging the passage of the federal suffrage amendment are included.

Minutes of meetings of the St. Paul Municipal Chorus, programs of concerts that it gave, and clippings relating to its activities are to

be found in two bound volumes covering the period from 1920 to 1934, presented by Mr. Leopold Bruenner of St. Paul.

Ex-Governor Theodore Christianson has presented six filing boxes of his correspondence for the years from 1927 to 1930. Most of the letters deal with applications for positions and appointments. About forty items of miscellaneous correspondence for 1925 and 1926 also are included.

A roll book of officers and minutes of meetings from 1925 to 1929 of the Sons of Veterans' Auxiliary of Knute Nelson camp number 4 at Alexandria have been presented by Mrs. W. J. Hiland of St. Paul.

A box of correspondence for 1923 to 1935 of the Overseas Lunch Club of Minneapolis, an organization of former Y. M. C. A. secretaries who served in the World War, has been presented by Mr. Paul J. Thompson of Minneapolis. Included in the gift are some eighty letters written by Mr. Thompson to his family during the war, telling of his experiences as a Y. M. C. A. secretary in Italy.

Numerous items relating to the Norse-American centennial celebration in 1925 are to be found among the papers of Professor Gisle Bothne, which have been presented by his widow, a resident of Minneapolis. The collection includes correspondence, newspaper clippings, and articles on literary and historical subjects. Professor Bothne was head of the Scandinavian department in the University of Minnesota from 1907 to 1929.

Mrs. Margaret Ball Dickson of Staples has presented a filing box of letters that she received mainly from 1934 to 1936 as president of the League of Minnesota Poets and as editor of the *Country Bard*, relating to the compositions of modern poets in the United States, especially in Minnesota.

Some four hundred pioneers and early settlers in Stearns County have been interviewed by workers engaged in a WPA project in that county. Copies of the biographical sketches that have resulted from these interviews have been filed with the society.

*Eine Deputationsreise von Russland nach Amerika vor vierundzwanzig Jahren* is the title of a pamphlet by Leonhard Sudermann

(Elkhart, Indiana, 1897. 95 p.), a copy of which has been received from Bethel College in Kansas. The author describes a journey through the United States and Canada made in 1873 by twelve Russian Mennonite leaders who were searching for places in which members of their sect might settle. They spent six days in Minnesota. As a result of their reports several families settled in that state, and larger groups emigrated to Manitoba, Kansas, the Dakotas, and Nebraska.

A collection of thirty-two extremely rare Minnesota newspapers and one Wisconsin paper, all of which were published in the summer of 1857, have been received from Miss Emma Thompson of Hastings. The papers were among the items found in the cornerstone of Minnesota Central University at Hastings when the building was dismantled several years ago. Seven of them were not previously represented in the society's collections, and of fifteen more the society's files lacked the particular issues included in the gift. Among the rarest of the papers are issues of the *Oronoco Courier*, the *Shakopee Republican Advocate*, the *Lake City Tribune*, the *Olmsted Journal* of Rochester, and the *Northern Herald* of Little Falls.

Copies of two extra editions of the *Minneapolis Tribune* for November 7, 1918, containing the false announcement of the Armistice, have been received through the courtesy of Mr. Richard Sackett of Minneapolis. The society now has copies of all the extra numbers issued by St. Paul and Minneapolis newspapers on this occasion.

Seventy miscellaneous Philippine Island newspapers, published in 1899 while the Thirteenth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry was stationed at Manila, have been received from Mr. Emil J. Letourneau of St. Paul.

Fourteen vases of Favre glass, manufactured by Tiffany of New York, with a case in which to display them, have been presented by Mr. Frederic C. Miller of St. Paul, in memory of Mrs. Bertha R. Miller. Other gifts received from Mr. Miller include gowns, hats, a coat, and an embroidered silk and wool shawl, all dating from the period from 1886 to 1900.

An infant's walnut spool bed and a complete set of bedding are the gifts of Mrs. James B. Sutherland of Minneapolis. Other re-

cent additions to the domestic life collection include an eight-day clock manufactured about 1840, from Mrs. Albert Schuneman of St. Paul; a tea set of the sixties, from Mrs. L. A. Dinsmore of Minneapolis; and knives, forks, spoons, and a pewter ladle of the fifties, from Miss Florence Wales of Minneapolis. Dolls that date from the sixties have been presented by Mrs. E. W. Kingsley and Mrs. James B. Sutherland, both of Minneapolis.

Sixty badges and medals of the Grand Army of the Republic have been received from Mr. Rudolph A. Becker of Minneapolis. Mr. D. D. Smith of Portland, Oregon, has presented a dress coat that he wore as a sergeant in the Minnesota National Guard in 1880.

Pastel portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Hamm of St. Paul have been presented by Mrs. J. J. Flanagan of St. Paul, and oil portraits of Dr. and Mrs. Burleigh Smart and of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Wenzell have been received from the estate of the late Henry B. Wenzell of Stillwater. About two hundred miscellaneous views of Minneapolis and an almost equal number of photographs of Minneapolis citizens have been presented by Mr. Donald K. Hudson of Minneapolis. Other additions to the picture collection include views of Ramsey State Park, from Mr. Julius Schmahl of St. Paul; of the home of Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh at Little Falls, from Mr. Ira C. Oehler of St. Paul; of the August Lindbergh home at Melrose, from Mrs. W. A. Butler of Minneapolis; and of American Fur Company buildings at Fond du Lac, from Mrs. George P. Douglas of Minneapolis.

Through an unfortunate error, the name of Winfield S. Garcelon of Gully, who presented a pair of spurs used in the Mexican War, was entered as "Winfield S. Varcelon" in the December issue of this magazine (see *ante*, 17: 471).



## NEWS AND COMMENT

Minnesota is one of six states, carved in whole or in part from the old Northwest Territory, which will participate in a great sesquicentennial celebration in 1937 and 1938 to commemorate the enactment of the Ordinance of 1787, the establishment of the territory, and its settlement. The celebration will open officially on July 13, 1937, in New York City, where the events leading up to the ordinance and its adoption by the Continental Congress will be depicted in pageant form. The westward movement of New Englanders into the new territory will be commemorated by a "Pioneer Party" that will travel from Ipswich, Massachusetts, to Marietta, Ohio, during the winter of 1937-38. It will be "composed of actors, trained, costumed and propertied" to enact a "pageant illustrating the events and adventure of the trip." This will be produced at stops made along the route and during a tour, which will occupy the summer and fall of 1938, through Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. According to an announcement issued by the committee in charge of the Northwest Territory Celebration, "It is hoped to make the caravan and pageant the headline attraction of many local programs dealing with general State and local as well as Territorial history." For this purpose, in Minnesota, the cooperation of state, county, and community historical societies has been enlisted. The Minnesota Historical Society is co-operating also, in an advisory capacity, in the preparation of a great pictorial map of the Northwest Territory, which will depict the region from 1770 to 1800 and will "show how the United States came into possession of this region and how the several states were developed," and in the writing of an elementary textbook of some two hundred pages in which the history of the territory will be reviewed.

In his biennial message to the people of the state, President Coffman of the University of Minnesota quotes these words of Professor Gilbert Murray, the distinguished Oxford scholar: "A society without history cannot understand what it is doing; and history without scholarship cannot understand itself."

An *Atlas of American Agriculture*, prepared under the supervision of O. E. Baker, has been published by the United States department of agriculture (Washington, 1936). It includes sections on land relief, climate, soils, and natural vegetation, each of which is illustrated with detailed maps.

The excavation of a Mandan village site near Menoken, North Dakota, is described by Walter D. Powell in the *Minnesota Archaeologist* for October. He contends that this is the site of the village visited by La Vérendrye in 1738. A brief sketch of the explorer's life, by James F. Sutherland, and some extracts from his journal also appear in this issue of the *Archaeologist*.

The authenticity of the Kensington rune stone is accepted by Thomas P. Christensen in a recent book entitled *The Discovery and Re-Discovery of America* (133 p.). He asserts that the stone "bears a clear, unmistakable, and authentic message from the Norwegians and Swedes who in the year of our Lord 1362 penetrated North America as far as the sources of the Red River of the North."

"The Bell System Historical Museum," which was established in 1912 in New York City and now has on display a collection of nearly two thousand items of early telephone equipment and models of apparatus, is described by W. C. F. Farnell in an interesting article which appears in two installments in the *Bell Telephone Quarterly* for July and October. In addition to this collection there has grown up a historical library which "collects and preserves the important documents, pictures, and other historical and biographical material relative to the Bell System." The library collection, according to Mr. Farnell, "emphasizes the economics and personalities of telephony, while the Museum emphasizes the technical advances—the two supplementing each other."

Of Minnesota interest is a list of *References on the Great Lakes-Saint Lawrence Waterway Project* by Everett E. Edwards and Edith J. Lowe, which has been issued by the library of the United States department of agriculture as number 30 of its *Bibliographical Contributions* (1936. 185 p.). Number 29 in the same series is Mr. Edwards' list of *References on Agricultural Museums* (43 p.). Mention is made of a "Minnesota Museum for Agricultural His-

tory and Records" on the campus of the college of agriculture of the University of Minnesota.

Some additional "Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin" from the collection at McLoughlin House, Oregon City, Oregon, have been edited for publication by Jane Lewis Chapin and published in the December number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (see *ante*, 17: 111, 444-447). Several of the newly published letters were written from Kaministiquia and Fort William between 1806 and 1810. A letter written to Dr. Simon Fraser on August 11, 1806, is of special interest for the light that it throws upon McLoughlin's interest in medicine. "My practice . . . has been very extensive this summer," he writes. "I would be much oblig'd if you saw or heard of any new publication worth studying that you would procure it for me and give to any safe person to give it to me, also if you would let me know of any new discovery in medicine you hear off." A "New Portrait of Dr. McLoughlin" from a daguerreotype probably made in the fifties is reproduced in this issue of the *Quarterly* with a note by T. C. Elliott.

A study of *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma* by William B. Morrison consists of a series of chronological narratives concerning some twenty-five or thirty forts, posts, and camps that were erected within the present borders of Oklahoma (Oklahoma City, Harlow Publishing Company, 1936. 180 p.). The situations that gave rise to the establishments are described, the chief persons are identified, the important events are narrated, and the decline or abandonment of the forts is explained. In his preface the author implies that his book presents "a fairly complete story of the state." While it does present many social and economic facts and many interesting episodes, the total picture of Oklahoma is neither clear nor symmetrical. The preparation of such a book doubtless involved a comprehensive knowledge, but even the careful reader of this volume will scarcely achieve any unified idea of the history of the state. The so-called bibliography is a list of authors and titles, the index is inadequate, and the pictures are not listed. The book is, however, beautifully printed, attractively bound, and comparatively free from typographical errors. The author has produced a creditable book out of rather unpromising, somewhat detached, and sometimes un-

wieldy material. It supplies valuable information for a comprehensive history that will some day be written concerning one of the most interesting of American commonwealths. EDGAR B. WESLEY

As an attractive supplement to its regular issue of September 22, 1936, the *Richland County Farmer-Globe* of Wahpeton, North Dakota, issued a collection of articles under the title of *Fort Abercrombie, 1862*. The supplement is well printed, and is fully illustrated with reproductions of interesting early sketches and photographs. The articles, most of which were written by Chester A. Gewalt of Breckenridge, make available a compact body of information on the history of the fort both during and after the Sioux Outbreak of 1862. Letters and reminiscences of pioneers make up a considerable part of the work; one of the letters was written by Governor Walter Welford of North Dakota. Besides information directly relating to the fort, there are other miscellaneous articles on exploration, farming, transportation, logging, journalism, and the like, with descriptions of various parks in the region, such as the Fort Abercrombie Park, Welles Memorial Park at Breckenridge, and Chahinkapa Park at Wahpeton. Historical sketches of Richland County, North Dakota, and Wilkin County, Minnesota, are included. Other items of special interest to Minnesotans are notes on the community at Georgetown, the Otter Tail basin lakes, and the expeditions of Henry H. Sibley. G. HUBERT SMITH

#### GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

In the annual address presented before the Minnesota Historical Society in 1935, Dr. Albert Ernest Jenks gave considerable attention to the "Minnesota man," which was discovered near Pelican Rapids in 1931 (see *ante*, 16: 5-7). To a detailed study of this primitive skeleton, he has now devoted an entire volume, which has been published by the University of Minnesota Press under the title *Pleistocene Man in Minnesota: A Fossil Homo Sapiens* (Minneapolis, 1936. 197 p.). A chapter on the "Pleistocene Geology of the Prairie Lake Region" is contributed by George A. Thiel. Among the subjects discussed by Dr. Jenks are the "History and Documentation of the Find and Site," the "Skeleton as a Whole," the "Cranium," the "Teeth," and "Artifacts and Minor Objects Found

with the Minnesota Skeleton." Eighty-nine photographs, maps, and diagrams illustrate the volume.

"A Brief History of the Curriculum in Minnesota" by Harold O. Soderquist is only one of the many valuable contributions to the history of education in the state which appear in the "Diamond Anniversary Edition" of the *Minnesota Journal of Education*, issued in November. He notes that the "first serious attempt at setting up a uniform course of study for the elementary grades was made in 1871 by Sanford Niles, County Superintendent of Schools of Olmsted County." In dealing with the "secondary curriculum," the author gives special attention to the influence of Dr. Folwell. "Changes in Student Marking" are traced by C. Robert Pace and Dale B. Harris; Edgar B. Wesley describes "Changes in Textbooks," contrasting those used in 1861 with those of 1936; William Scanlon takes as his subject "Changes in Transportation" in relation to the development of consolidated schools. The Minnesota normal schools and their growth are the subject of an article by W. E. Peik entitled "An Historical Overview of the Education of Teachers in Minnesota"; and the "Story of Junior Colleges in Minnesota" is related by Royal R. Shumway. A detailed historical study of "Public School Support in Minnesota" is contributed by Fred Engelhardt and T. J. Berning; and J. P. Vaughan provides an outline of the "Accomplishments of the M. E. A.," which commemorates its seventy-fifth anniversary in the present publication. A list of "Presidents and Convention Dates, 1861-1936," of the Minnesota Education Association will be of value to those interested in its history. Important events in the history of education in the state are listed in a "Chronological Outline of the Development of Public Education in Minnesota, 1861-1936," prepared by Jean H. Alexander. A general statement about the progress of education since 1861 is made by M. E. Haggerty in an article entitled "The Way We Have Come."

The Minnesota territorial legislature is the subject of a feature article by Orlin Folwick entitled "When the Legislature Had No Dignity," which appears in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for November 29. Much space is given to the story of Joseph Rolette and the bill for the removal of the capital to St. Peter. The meeting of the first

territorial legislature in the Central House at St. Paul also is described.

"In the free-for-all days of non-regulated railroads, the farmer found himself the primary victim of extortionate and discriminatory rates. Primary source materials for the origins of the Populist Movement lie, I believe, in the rate tables of northwestern railroads." Thus writes Charles R. Walker in the first of three thoughtful articles on "Minneapolis" which appear in the *Survey Graphic* for October and November, 1936, and January, 1937. The economic "factors that built Minneapolis and underlie its present tensions" and social unrest are discussed in the opening article, which bears the subtitle "Jim Hill's Empire." The author shows the relationship of transportation developments to the growth of farm and labor organizations, of wheat and livestock products to the growth of co-operatives. He asserts that the "farm organizations and their policies have been shaped by the history of the Northwest," in which the parts played by lumber and iron are not neglected. Mr. Walker's second article describes Minneapolis as a "City of Tensions"; the third is devoted to "A Militant Trade Union," with special attention to recent strikes.

Another of the posthumous works of Oscar W. Firkins, for many years before his death in 1932 professor of comparative literature in the University of Minnesota, has been published by the University of Minnesota Press. Its title, *Power and Elusiveness in Shelley* (1937. 187 p.), indicates that, like several earlier volumes in the series, its interest is literary rather than historical. One, in which Firkins' *Memoirs and Letters* appear, is autobiographical in content (see *ante*, 15:451). All should, however, prove of interest to any biographer who undertakes to picture the career of this Minnesota critic, essayist, playwright, poet, and teacher. Another recent publication of the university press is *Shelley's Religion* by Ellsworth Barnard (1937. 320 p.).

The years that Homer Martin, the famous American landscape artist, spent in St. Paul and the work that he produced there are the subject of a brief article by Elizabeth Riese in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for December 13. The writer notes that one of Martin's sketches is owned by the Visitation Convent in St. Paul.

A volume entitled *J. Arthur Harris, Botanist and Biometrician* recently issued by the University of Minnesota Press (Minneapolis, 1936) deals with the career of a man who served as head of the department of botany in the University of Minnesota from 1924 to 1930. It includes chapters on "Harris the Man" by Ross A. Gortner, on "Harris the Botanist" by C. Otto Rosendahl, and on "Harris the Biometrician" by Alan E. Treloar, and selected writings by Professor Harris in each of his special fields.

Descriptions of "Minnesota Christmases" found by Sister Grace McDonald in letters and narratives of Catholic pioneers are quoted in an article that she contributes to the *Wanderer* of St. Paul for December 17. She describes the ceremonies that marked the day for Father Francis de Vivaldi at Long Prairie in 1861, for Mrs. Julia Wood at Sauk Rapids in the same year, and for two nuns on the White Earth reservation in 1888.

Excavations made at Fort Ridgely by the WPA in co-operation with the Minnesota Historical Society are described by Jack Keefe in an illustrated article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for December 27. Records preserved by the society are drawn upon for an account of the part that the fort played in the Sioux War of 1862. Among the illustrations are a picture of the fort in the early sixties and views of foundation walls and fireplaces unearthed in the course of the excavations.

A study of *Thirty-six Years of Weather in the Red River Valley* by R. S. Dunham has been published by the Northwest School and Experiment Station of the University of Minnesota as volume 29, number 6, of its *Bulletins* (1936. 23 p.). From an examination of weather records kept by the Northwest School at Crookston, Mr. Dunham is able to make general statements about seasonal extremes, precipitation, temperatures, wind, and the like in a section of western Minnesota.

Criticism of the historical markers erected on Minnesota trunk highways because "one cannot stop in safety to read the inscription, and the letters are too small to read while passing by at moderate speed" is expressed in an editorial on "Making Historical Markers of Value," which appears in the *St. Cloud Daily Times* for Novem-

ber 24. "Markers should be of everlasting granite" and they should be "given wayside settings where they can be seen and read, without the danger that now is an element if one stops to read those close to the highway," according to the editorial. If markers are worth while, it continues, they should be placed "so they can be read. If all these markers were given shrine settings a few rods from the highway, they would serve a useful purpose where they are now of very little value."

A pictorial map of Mendota and its vicinity, prepared by Nadine E. Semans, has been published by the Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution. On it are illustrated the Sibley House, the Faribault House, and other structures at Mendota and Fort Snelling.

Under the title "A Shrine at Old Fort Snelling," Katherine L. Smith tells something of the backgrounds of this early Minnesota fort in the *New York Times* for November 29. She announces that a "national cemetery will be created at this historic spot at the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers near St. Paul and Minneapolis."

#### LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The history of the district court of Anoka County was reviewed by Mr. Theodore A. E. Nelson in a paper presented before a meeting of the Anoka County Historical Society on October 12. Mr. Nelson, who is clerk of court, made a study of early records preserved in his office when assembling material for his paper. It is published in full in the *Anoka Herald* for October 28.

At the annual meeting of the Becker County Historical Society, which was held at Detroit Lakes on October 12, the following officers were elected: Walter D. Bird, president; Dr. L. V. Long, vice president; Dan Nelson, secretary; and Carl Hansen, treasurer. Mr. Bird described Indian life in Becker County at a meeting of the society held on December 14.

Plans for a fireproof building in Sibley State Park in which the collections of the Blue Earth County Historical Society might be housed are announced in the *Mankato Free Press* for November 16. A picture of the proposed building appears in the same issue.



Some recent finds made by Mr. Fred W. Johnson of New Ulm, president of the Brown County Historical Society, are described in the *Brown County Journal of New Ulm* for December 18. Among them are a dozen copies of the *Turn-Zeitung*, a Philadelphia newspaper of 1855, "containing all the articles and official announcements constituting the background of the Turner Colonization society, the organization which figured so prominently in the founding of New Ulm."

The Cass Lake Historical Society, which will specialize in the history of the Chippewa Indians, was organized in the village of Cass Lake on December 18. Mr. P. M. Larson was named president, and Mr. A. G. Swindlehurst, secretary.

"A membership of five hundred before the April meeting" is the goal set by the Clay County Historical Society in a recent membership campaign. Printed invitations describing the activities of the society and its museum collection have been sent to people throughout the county, with an enclosure containing a membership application blank.

A large collection of Indian clothing, bead work, saddles, implements, and the like has been added to the museum collection of the Clay County Historical Society by Congressman U. L. Burdick of Fargo. It is described in an article in the *Moorhead Daily News* for October 10. According to a recent report of this museum, 1,635 objects are now included in its collection. In addition to Indian articles, it has on display utensils used by pioneer Scandinavian settlers, a post office from the Hudson's Bay Company post at Georgetown, a loom, a rope bed, Civil War relics, some issues of an early Red River Valley newspaper, and many other items. Nearly six hundred names have been entered in the visitors' register.

Mr. John C. Mills was named president of the Fillmore County Historical Society at a meeting of its executive board on October 9 at Preston. Other officers elected were J. C. White, vice president; Mrs. P. L. Wilson, secretary; and Mrs. John Galligan, treasurer. At a special meeting held at Harmony on November 12, the announcement was made that more than a hundred members had enrolled in the society.

Plans for a joint meeting and picnic to be held by the Marshall County Historical Society and the local old settlers' association during the summer of 1937 near Stephen were made at a meeting of the society held on November 23 at Warren. Judge Bernard B. Brett was re-elected president of the society, and Nils Malm was named vice president, Mrs. Synneva Strunk, secretary, and Mrs. H. I. Yetter, treasurer.

A membership campaign was planned by the officers of the Nobles County Historical Society at a special meeting held at Worthington on October 3. Miss Margaret Brooks, Wallace Saxon, and Henry M. Anderson were named to serve on a membership committee. An appeal for new members, signed by Miss Julia Hyland, the secretary, appears in the *Worthington Globe* for October 5.

An interesting letter from Mrs. Caroline Nygren Holl, who in 1890 was elected superintendent of schools in Otter Tail County, was read by Judge Anton Thompson at a meeting of the Otter Tail County Historical Society at Fergus Falls on November 7. Included on the program also were reminiscent talks by Mrs. Cora Frazee, S. Newton Putnam, and Colvin G. Butler, and a review of the early history of Battle Lake and Amor Township by Mr. F. J. A. Larson. Mrs. Holl's letter, in which she tells of her election on a Prohibition ticket and describes some of her experiences while holding office, appears in full in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for November 7. Mr. Butler's narrative, in which he tells of his father's emigration from England and settlement at Perham, appears in the *Journal* for November 13; in the issue for November 30 is Mr. Putnam's account of pioneer life in Amor Township.

At a meeting of the Polk County Historical Society at Crookston on October 21, Judge Nels B. Hansen was elected president, Hjalmer Erikson, vice president, and John Saugstad, secretary and treasurer.

The work of the Pope County Historical Society in co-operation with the local WPA is endorsed by Hilberg Peterson, county superintendent of schools, in a letter published in the *Glenwood Herald* for December 17 and the *Pope County Tribune* for December 24. "The Historical Society of Pope County," writes Mr. Peterson, "de-

serves our wholehearted co-operation in its efforts to gather and compile a historical record of the institutions of the county from the time the county was first organized." He urges district school officers to turn their records over to the historical society for permanent preservation.

Professor C. A. Duniway of Carleton College was re-elected president of the Rice County Historical Society at a meeting held at Faribault on October 19. His present term marks his tenth year as the leader of this active local historical society. A paper on "Early Railroads in Rice County," presented in connection with the meeting by N. M. Pletcher of Northfield, appears in the *Faribault Daily News* for October 20 and the *Northfield News* for October 30.

All the officers of the Stearns County Historical Society were re-elected at a meeting held at St. Cloud on November 21. Miss Marjory Carter presented a report on the historical records survey that is in progress in Stearns County.

A history of the Lake City Baptist church was read by Miss Marian Nordine at a meeting of the Lake Pepin Valley Historical Society held at Lake City on October 13. The officers of the society were re-elected.

Members of the Washington County Historical Society, meeting at Stillwater on October 5, elected the following officers: Chester S. Wilson, president; Mrs. Daisy Foster, first vice president; Mrs. George Supple, second vice president; E. L. Roney, secretary; and Grace Mosier, treasurer.

Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the state historical society, was the speaker at a meeting of the Watonwan County Historical Society at St. James on November 19. He took as his subject the value of the local historical society to the community. At the annual meeting of the society on December 10, George Hage was elected president; Mrs. Will Curtis, vice president; J. E. Setrum, secretary; and E. C. Farmer, treasurer.

A collection of pioneer objects assembled in the locality was placed on display at the annual meeting of the Wilkin County Historical Society, which was held at Breckenridge on December 15. The fol-

lowing officers were elected: H. L. Shirley, president; Burt Huse, vice president; C. E. Holmgren, secretary; and C. A. Gewalt, treasurer.

Mr. Homer Goss of Lewiston was elected president of the Winona County Historical Society at its annual meeting, held at Winona on November 28. Other officers elected include Dr. R. B. LeMay of Homer, vice president; Miss Caroline V. Smith of Winona, secretary; and Miss Luella Guidinger of Rollingstone, treasurer.

#### LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

A deer hunt near Anoka in 1868 is recalled by the Reverend J. B. Tuttle, a pioneer Baptist clergyman, in an article found among his papers by his son, Mr. Fred C. Tuttle of Cincinnati, and published in installments in the *Anoka Herald* beginning on December 30.

Brief historical sketches of Becker County townships have been appearing in the *Detroit Lakes Tribune* under the title "Turning Back the Pages in Becker County History." In each case the date of organization of the township, its first officers, the names of some early settlers, the beginning of schools, and the origin of the name are given.

Pioneer life in Beltrami County in the years that followed the turn of the century is described vividly by R. A. Hanna of Bemidji in an article which appears in the *Farmers Independent* of Bagley for December 24. Logging operations, wild life and game, and social activities in the frontier community are described. An account by J. C. McGhee of the organization of the Odd Fellows lodge at Bemidji in 1899 appears in the *Bemidji Daily Pioneer* for December 10 and the *Bemidji Sentinel* for December 18.

When the Mankato Normal School was established in 1868 each student who enrolled was requested to bring with him "a Bible, a dictionary, and any textbooks that he might possess." This information is given by Marcella Nutting and Robert Blake in an interesting account of the early history of the school which appears in the *Mankato Free Press* for November 14.

The history of the New Ulm Turnverein is traced back to the early months of 1856, when a group of German residents of Cin-

cinnati decided to "leave their homes in the east and strike out into the little known wilds of Minnesota to found a colony for Turners," in a feature article which appears in the *New Ulm Review* for November 12. The narrative commemorates the eightieth anniversary of the organization, which was marked by its present members on November 15. "In the shade of a huge cottonwood tree . . . thirteen young charter members made plans for the organization" on November 11, 1856, according to this account. The names of the charter members are listed and photographs of four of them appear with the article. Among the illustrations also are pictures of the Turner halls built in 1865 and in 1901.

Several articles in the *Weekly Valley Herald* of Chaska for October 1 call attention to the fact that the paper "is seventy-five years old today." In one are noted the beginning of regular publication by Charles Warner in 1861, earlier newspapers published at Chaska, and the names of the owners of the *Herald*; in another the career of Frederick E. DuToit, who published the paper for fifty-seven years, is outlined.

The *Walker Pilot* is conducting an "Old-Timer's Department," in which appear the narratives of early settlers in the Northwest. Contributors are invited to furnish information about the details of pioneer life, telling what they ate, where they obtained supplies, how they made or obtained clothing, how their houses were constructed, and the like. The first contributor, Mr. Thomas Pederson of Mildred, sets an example for those who may in the future submit their reminiscences. The early installments of his "Memoirs," which begin in the *Pilot* for October 9, deal with pioneer conditions in western Wisconsin, where he was born and where his parents settled after emigrating from Norway. Food, clothing, farm implements, schools, amusements, and holiday celebrations are described in detail. In the eighties the writer went into North Dakota where he lived for a time near Devil's Lake. Mr. Pederson's narrative appears also in the *Cass County Independent* of Hackensack. The author has presented a copy of his manuscript to the Minnesota Historical Society (see *ante*, p. 96).

The founding at Montevideo of the Western Minnesota Seminary, which became the Windom Institute, is described by Mr. C. W.

Headley, who was appointed superintendent of the school in 1889, in a letter published in the *Montevideo News* for December 4. Mr. Headley recalls that he found the buildings incomplete and that with the aid of some of his pupils he "completed the barn, the drainage system, the bridge and the cisterns as well as many other undertakings."

The Spring Lake mill, the Gardner mill at Hastings, the Ramsey mill on the Vermillion River, the Stanton mill on the Cannon River, and several other "Old Mills of Dakota County" are described by W. E. Harrington in the *Hastings Gazette* for November 27. In the same issue is an article about the early Vermillion River mill from which developed the present King Midas Mill of Hastings. An interesting early picture of this mill accompanies the article. A related industry at Hastings, a cooper shop in which "about 225 barrels a day were completed by the force when business was rushing," is the subject of a detailed narrative in the *Gazette* for December 4. A view of the shop and of its employees, taken about 1880, appears with the article.

The history of a Fillmore County Norwegian settlement, that at North Prairie, is reflected in the story of the local Lutheran church as told by S. T. Severtson in a recent *Eightieth Anniversary Year Book* (1936. 32 p.). According to this writer the history of the congregation can be traced back to 1856, when the Reverend U. V. Koren visited North Prairie and "conducted services, baptized children, administered Communion and performed marriages." From the earliest records of the congregation, which are dated September, 1856, the author takes the names of children baptized and couples married by this visiting pastor. The building of churches, the coming and going of ministers, and the growth of the congregation are described. Special sections are devoted to such subjects as the parochial school, the Sunday school, church organizations, and the cemetery association.

A brief outline of the history of the *Chatfield News* appears in the issue for December 31 to commemorate the eightieth anniversary of the founding of the paper.

A biographical sketch of "Francis Hall, Albert Lea's First Mayor" by L. W. Spicer appears in the *Evening Tribune* of Albert

Lea for December 15. The sketch was read by Mr. Spicer before the city council of Albert Lea in connection with the presentation to the city of a portrait of Hall. Some interesting items relating to Hall's activities as a pioneer merchant in the late fifties and early sixties seem to be based upon his business papers. His Civil War service, his election as mayor in 1878, and his activities as a hotel owner and a banker also are described.

The value of church archives for the historian is aptly illustrated in a pamphlet entitled *The First Congregational Church of Minneapolis: A Retrospect of Eighty Years* (Minneapolis, 1936. 29 p.), in which is published an address delivered on November 16, 1931, by Dean Guy Stanton Ford of the graduate school of the University of Minnesota. The occasion for its original preparation was an eightieth anniversary celebration. The address opens with a "tribute to those who in the past have so faithfully kept the records of the church," and special mention is made of the first pastor, the Reverend Charles Seccombe. "Week by week, even day by day, Father Seccombe faithfully and carefully made minutes of the church's history during its first fifteen years," writes Dean Ford. "In this and the records faithfully kept through the following years by the clerks of the church and of the Society, the historian has a rather exceptional body of material recording the regular life and development of the church." An example of Father Seccombe's record is his entry for December 7, 1851: "The First Congregational Church commenced worshipping by themselves for the first time today, in the school-room of the University, for the use of which they are to pay \$1.00 per week." Among the church archives examined by Dean Ford was a volume of the "minutes of the Ladies Benevolent Society from 1860 on," in which he found a "record of all-day meetings, of quilting bees, thimble bees, oyster suppers, and husking bees, of buying church carpets, of underwriting church contributions by what their own scribe calls 'the hard earned dollars the ladies gathered in.'" The roll of members stimulated the imagination of the writer, for upon turning the pages he often found recorded "first admission to the church and then forty years later, perhaps, death; first membership, and then letters of dismissal to all parts of the United States; first the whole family coming in—father, mother, children—and later the baptism of a baby," and then later "marriages and departures

from that same family east and west, north and south." Dean Ford concludes that "If one could follow and summarize all that lies behind the names that are entered on these records, he would have in biographical form much of the history not only of Minneapolis but of the state of Minnesota and the Northwest."

Lists of teachers in and graduates from the Heron Lake public schools are among the items relating to the history of education in this Jackson County community which appear in the *Heron Lake News* for December 3. The sum of \$325.00 was appropriated for school purposes in 1879 according to the minutes of the local school board, which form the basis for an article on the early history of the schools. Some reminiscences of Mr. John Tollefson, custodian of the public school property for more than thirty years, also are presented.

The steps by which Hutchinson obtained its first railroad connections with the outside world are explained by Gerald White in the *Hutchinson Leader* for October 16. He relates that the Milwaukee, St. Paul, and Pacific road completed its line to Hutchinson in the autumn of 1886. It is interesting to note that the author's chief source of information was a minute book of the town board, which was obtained from the present town clerk by Mr. S. S. Beach, president of the Hutchinson Historical Society.

The mill at Stewartville, which marked the beginning of the village when it was established there by Charles Stewart in 1858, is the subject of an article by C. A. Duncanson in the *Stewartville Star* for December 10. The mill was originally established at High Forest, but Stewart soon moved his equipment to the site of Stewartville. Mr. Duncanson gives an interesting description of the mill equipment and of the methods by which it was operated.

How a stone barnyard enclosure built by William Buck on his farm at High Forest was used as a place of refuge by his Olmsted County neighbors during the Sioux Outbreak of 1862 is related in the *Rochester Post-Bulletin* for November 2. Buck came from Illinois in a covered wagon to settle in Olmsted County in 1855.

"Crookston in 1879" is vividly pictured by William A. Marin in the first installment of a narrative of pioneer life in northwestern



Minnesota which appears in the *Polk County Leader* of Crookston for December 10. "The streets had not been graded nor had the grub holes been filled" when Mr. Marin arrived to make his home in the new settlement. The four streets of the town were "surrounded by heavy woods," he relates, and "large oaks and elms were standing high above the low frame buildings so that the town appeared to be hiding itself in the jungle as if ashamed of its cheapness and its newness."

The presentation to the historical museum conducted by the Rochester Business and Professional Women's Club of the register of the Medary House, an early Rochester hotel, for 1884 and 1885 is announced in the *Rochester Post-Bulletin* for December 1.

The history of the Otter Tail Lake region from the days when the native red men roamed over it, through the period of exploration and the fur trade, to the era of settlement is traced by C. R. Wright in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for November 4. He tells something of the townsites, such as Otter Tail City, Marion, Dayton Hollow, and Fergus Falls, which attracted speculators in the sixties. Mr. Wright also is the author of a "History of the Otter Tail County Fair," which appears in the *Journal* for November 9. In the issue for November 23 is an interesting article about game and hunting in frontier Otter Tail County. According to this account a party of hunters from Fergus Falls returned with more than ten thousand wild geese, ducks, and prairie chickens in 1874, and a lone hunter from Pelican Rapids bagged nine deer in three days in 1878. In the same issue is an account of pioneer industries in Fergus Falls.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Church of St. Matthew of St. Paul, which was celebrated on October 11, is commemorated in a *Golden Jubilee* pamphlet issued for the occasion (80 p.). It includes a history of the church and parish, in which the story is told of their founding in 1886 to meet the needs of a growing German Catholic group living in the West Side district of St. Paul. The fiftieth anniversary on October 18 of another Catholic congregation of St. Paul, St. John's Church in the Dayton's Bluff district, was marked by the publication of a *Historical Souvenir* (80 p.).

That the idea of developing and beautifying Third Street in St. Paul was suggested as early as 1850 by E. S. Seymour in his *Sketches of Minnesota* is brought out in an article on Kellogg Boulevard in the *St. Paul Daily News* for December 16. The pioneer author expressed regret, in writing of St. Paul, "that the land on the edge of the bluff, in the center of the town, was not left open to the public instead of being cut into small lots." The steps by which the modern improvement of the street was brought about also are traced.

The St. Paul winter sports carnivals of the late eighties and of 1916 and 1917 are recalled in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for December 27. Some scenes from the carnival of 1887, including a view of the ice palace, appear with the article.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Hendricks School of St. Paul, which was observed on October 15 and 16, is the occasion for the publication of an article about its history in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for October 11.

"Rice County and the Sunday School Movement" is the title of an article by Neva Foster which appears in the *Faribault Daily News* for October 21. She reveals that Rice County was represented by Moses Cole of the Baptist Sunday school of Faribault when the Minnesota State Sabbath School Association was organized in 1859; and she describes the state convention held at Faribault in 1868 at which Dwight Moody appeared as a speaker.

The flour mill built at Dundas in the late fifties was used as a church "whenever a travelling minister could be found," according to Mrs. William D. Taylor, whose brief "Church History in Dundas" appears in a pamphlet about the Holy Cross Protestant Episcopal Church at Dundas published in September, 1936. Of interest also is an "inventory of graves in Holy Cross churchyard."

That the first school at Walnut Grove was opened in 1873 by Lafayette Bedal, who "taught his classes in his own home," is brought out in a history of the local school district which appears in the *Walnut Grove Tribune* for November 12. The growth of the school from the original class of fifteen pupils, is traced and the various buildings that it has occupied are described.

Miss Gertrude Gove's detailed history of St. Cloud during the Civil War period has attained impressive proportions, for installments of its eleven chapters appear in the *St. Cloud Daily Times and Journal Press* from September 30 to November 28 (see *ante*, 17: 489). The author pictures the growth of the town's business district, the development of courts and judicial business, the establishment of churches and schools, the participation of St. Cloud citizens in the Civil War, the effect of the Sioux War upon the community, and many other phases of local life and growth that one expects to find in a community history. But Miss Gove goes much farther. She shows how Civil War issues were reflected in proslavery and antislavery groups, working the story of the rivalry of Mrs. Swishelm and S. B. Lowry into her narrative. She tells of the development of the city as a distributing center, and she explains how the Red River traffic influenced that development. Her pictures of social life and conditions are detailed and excellent, including discussions of such subjects as homes, architecture, furniture, and amusements. The narrative is well worth publication in book form.

Historical sketches of "Stearns County Churches" prepared by C. S. Wright as part of his work as county supervisor of the Minnesota historical records survey have been appearing in the *Melrose Beacon* since November 19. Among the subjects of sketches are churches in Melrose, St. Cloud, Richmond, and Sauk Center. Some of the articles have appeared also in the *St. Cloud Sentinel*. During October the latter paper published four articles on "Stearns County Pioneers" by the directors of the Stearns County museum project. They deal in general terms with such subjects as prices, food, social life, wages, and industries.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Minnesota State Public School at Owatonna was marked by a three-day celebration on October 28, 29, and 30. A feature of the first day's program was the presentation of a history of the school by Mr. H. J. Jager of Owatonna, who served on the staff of the school for more than thirty-six years. His historical review was followed by a tribute to Galen A. Merrill, who was superintendent of the school from the day of its founding in 1886 until his death in 1934. Mr. Jager's paper appears in two parts in the *Daily People's Press* of Owatonna for November 3 and

4. A program published by the school includes brief sketches of its history and of Merrill's contributions to its progress.

An interview with Mr. H. B. Thornton of Chicago, which appears in the *Winona Republican-Herald* for November 28, is an interesting and valuable addition to the record of communication in Minnesota. Mr. Thornton became manager of the Northwestern Telegraph Company's Winona office in 1872 and he served under this firm and later under the Western Union until 1913. He recalls that when he went to Winona it "was the nerve center of the Northwest." A railroad disaster of 1871 at Winona is the subject of an article in the *Republican-Herald* for December 21. It deals with the collapse of a railroad drawbridge across the Mississippi on May 27, two days after it had been opened to traffic.

As the feature of a celebration marking the eightieth anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church of Winona on October 13, Mrs. James D. McMartin presented a review of the history of the church and the parish. Her paper, in which she describes the organization of the church by fifteen pioneers on August 31, 1856, appears in full in the *Winona Republican-Herald* for October 14.

Several articles in the *Wright County Journal-Press* of Buffalo for December 10 call attention to the fact that this issue marks the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of the paper. Some reminiscences of pioneers, a brief account of early schools, and a facsimile reproduction of an early issue of the *Buffalo Journal* appear in this number.

The sixty-fifth anniversary of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Wood Lake, which was celebrated by members of the congregation on November 1, was marked also by the publication of a pamphlet in which the history of the church is outlined by Charles F. Hall. An account of the Sunday school is furnished by Frank L. Swan, and Mrs. Harry Payne recounts the "History of the M. E. Ladies Aid Society of Wood Lake."

